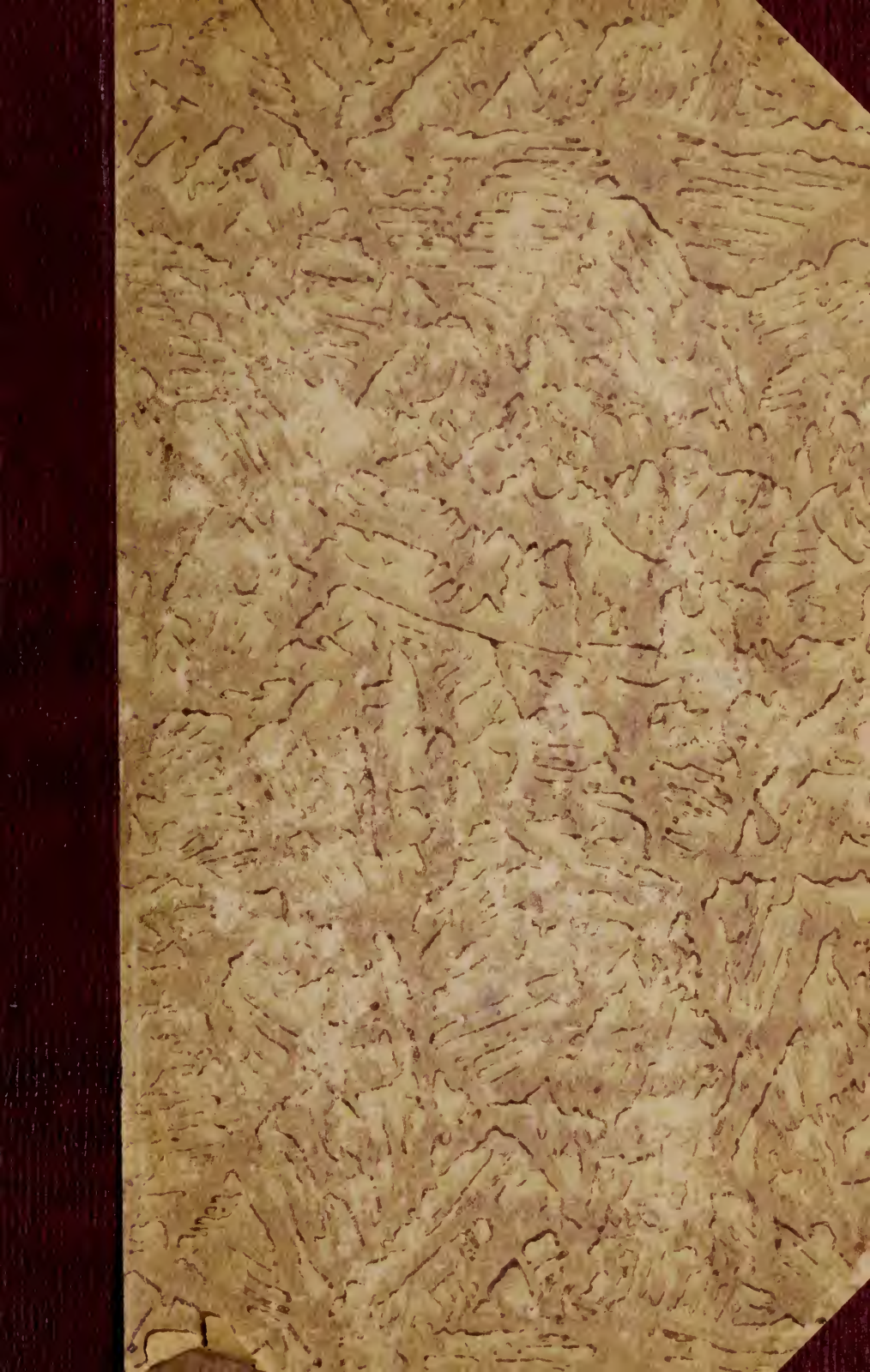

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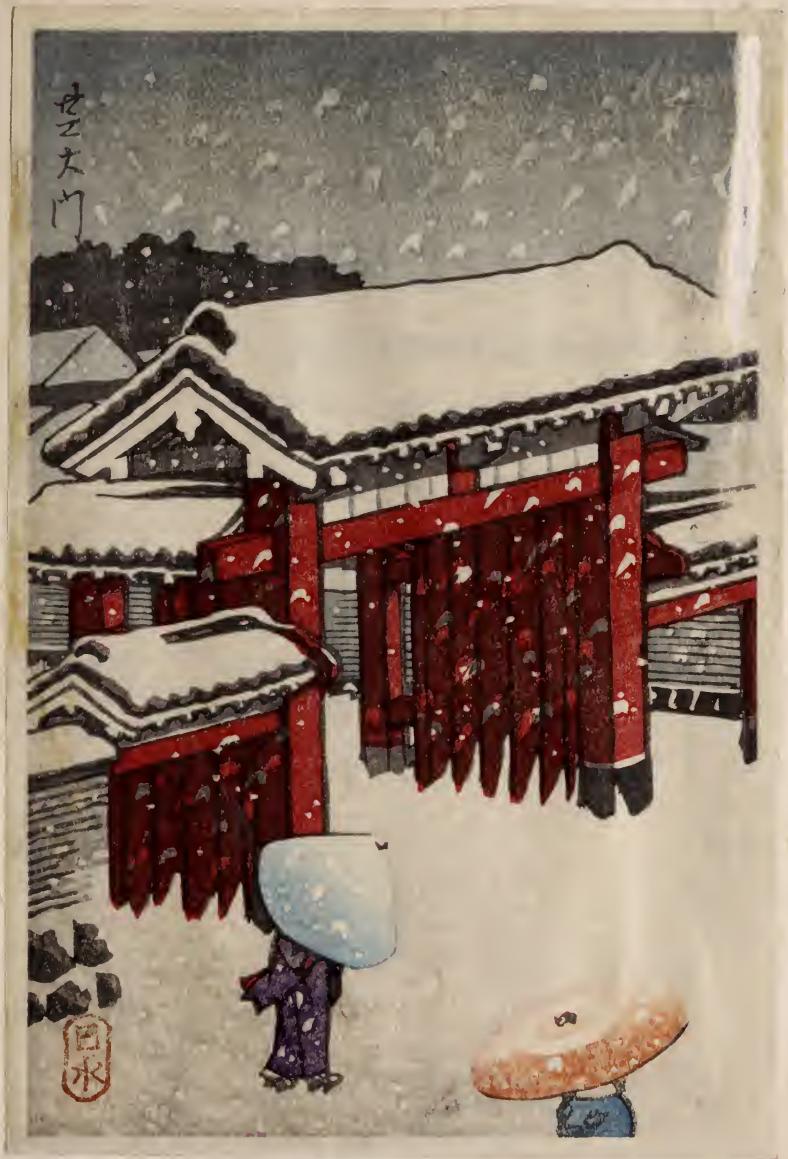

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Architecture in Japan—Past and Present

I. CHRONOLOGIGAL CLASSIFICATION OF ARCHITECTURE IN JAPAN.

A. The First Period (660 B.C.—552 A.D.).

This period may be called the "Protohistoric Age"; it includes the period between the foundation of the Japanese nation and the thirteenth year of the Emperor Kimmei when Buddhism was first introduced into Japan from the continent. The style of architecture in this period expresses the pure genuine characteristics of our ancestors.

Examples: Ise-Daijingū Shrine (Pref. Miye, Fig. 1).
Izumo-Taisha Shrine (Pref. Shimane, Fig. 2).

B. The Second Period (553 A.D.—1867 A.D.).

This period begins from the year when Buddhism was first introduced and ends in the year 1867 A.D., the last year of the Tokugawa-Shōgunate. Generally speaking, the styles of architecture and other arts in this period are said to be continental, that is to say, "Buddhist style." But the period is too long for it to be said that it always maintained the same style in architecture throughout; therefore it is usually classified into eight shorter periods as follows:

1. ASUKA PERIOD (553 A.D.—644 A.D.)

A period of introduction from the continent, the style of the "Six dynasties" in China.

Example: Hōryūji temple (Pref. Nara, Fig. 6).

2. NARA PERIOD (645 A.D.—781 A.D.)

A period of introduction from the continent, the style of the T'ang dynasty in China; it is usually subdivided into an earlier and a later period as follows:

HAKUHO PERIOD (645 A.D.—709 A.D.)

TEMPYO PERIOD (710 A.D.—781 A.D.)

Examples:—

Yakushiji temple (Pref. Nara, Fig. 7).
Tōshōdaiji temple (Pref. Nara, Fig. 8).

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3. KONIN PERIOD (782 A.D.—886 A.D.)

The style of architecture in this period is a continuation of the former periods.

Example:—

Murōji temple (Pref. Nara, Fig. 12).

4. FUJIWARA PERIOD (887 A.D.—1185 A.D.)

Architectural style in this period developed in continuation of the former periods, and gradually became an expression of the pure Japanese taste.

Example:—

Byōdōin temple (Pref. Nara, Fig. 11).

5. KAMAKURA PERIOD (1186 A.D.—1333 A.D.)

A period of introduction from the continent, the style of the Sung dynasty in China.

Example:—

Engakuji temple, Kamakura (Pref. Kanagawa, Fig. 9).

6. MUROMACHI PERIOD (1334 A.D.—1572 A.D.)

A period of continuation and development of the styles in the former periods.

Example:—

Tōfukuji temple (Pref. Kyoto, Fig. 13).

7. MOMOYAMA PERIOD (1573 A.D.—1614 A.D.)

In this period the architectural style which developed in the Kōnin and Fujiwara periods was vigorously revived. It corresponds to the Renaissance period in European architecture.

Example:—

Momoyama remains (Pref. Kyoto, Fig. 14.).

8. EDO PERIOD (1615 A.D.—1867 A.D.)

Architectural style in this period developed in continuation of the former period. It corresponds to the Baroque or Rococo period in European architecture.

Example:—

Tōshōgū, Nikkō (Pref. Tochigi, Fig. 15).

C. The Third Period (1868 A.D. –)

From the year 1868 A.D., the first year of the Meiji Era, Occidental buildings began to be erected in Japan by foreign and Japanese architects.

Example:—

Meiji Era—Nihon-ginkō (National Bank of Japan) Tōkyō (Fig. 21).

Taishō Era—Tōkyō Station (Fig. 22).

Usually the changes of style in architecture coincide with those in social or political conditions, but they are not so clear and abrupt. Therefore the chronological classification of architectural development in the past differs with every author in its detail; the above, however, is the most moderate and well-supported one.

II. CLASSIFICATION OF JAPANESE ARCHITECTURE BY THE SYSTEM OF ITS STYLE.

There are many kinds and lineages in Japanese architecture; the scheme of our history of architecture is not simple by any means. To simplify, we can classify into the following three groups:

A. First Group.

The first group embodies the expression of the tastes and characteristics of Japanese people and is not of foreign transmission. There are four principal kind of building in this group as following:

(a) *Azekura* (Loghouse).
(b) Dwelling houses in ancient times.
(c) Shintō shrines.
(d) Tea-ceremony houses.

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B. Second Group.

This group was introduced from abroad into this country with Buddhism, and consequently it was not the form to fit our taste at first, but it was gradually taken in, and as the result there was born a third group. Mere copies of foreign styles came to an end in the thirteenth century, and from that time the first and third groups began to show their progress. This group contains the following

styles of different periods:—

(a) Temples of Asuka, Nara and Kamakura styles.

(b) Occidental architecture from the Meiji era. (Since 1867 A.D.).

C. Third Group.

This group is the modification of the first or of the second group, or a combination of the first and second groups. We can not find any copies of foreign styles in the third group, so we can reckon this group to be of Japanese style. It contains several different styles as follows:—

(a) Temples of eclectic style.

(b) Shrines of eclectic style.

(c) Castles, warehouses, bathhouses and theatres (before 1867 A.D.).

(d) Dwelling houses from the 10th century to the present time, the so-called "Japanese dwelling house"—

Shindenzukuri ..... Since 10th century.
Bukezukuri ..... Since 13th century.
Shoinzukuri ..... Since 14th century.
Bukeyashiki ..... Since 17th century.
Modern town houses ..... Since about 1870 A.D.

III. ARCHITECTURE OF GENUINE JAPANESE ORIGIN.

A. AZEKURA (Loghouse Fig. 3).

Azekura which existed in our prehistoric age is not of foreign transmission. It might have served as a dwelling house at first, but in our historic age it was only used as a warehouse or an armoury. The oldest now existing belong to the 8th century.

B. Dwelling Houses of Ancient Times.

We have no remains or holdovers of dwelling houses of olden times, but they can be reconstructed from the following data:—

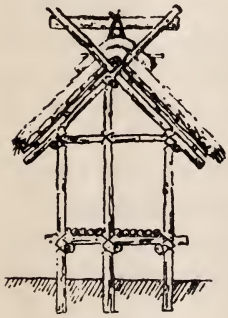
(a) Literature and old descriptions in which the state of ancient houses is described.

(b) The shape of old coffins of stone or earthenware, engravings of old mirrors, or clay images; they are important evidence provided from excavation by the archaeologists.

(c) Shintō shrines. Shintoism is partly ancestor-worship, and it took the form of religion. When the death of excellent persons occurred, they preserved their houses and deified them by enshrining their relics as the object of worship; this is the origin of Shintō shrines. The old shrines were time after time reconstructed, because the material used was of wood and would decay, but they faithfully reproduced the original form in their construction and expression. The Shintō shrines of to-day, therefore, are also good examples from which to know the style of the dwelling houses of our ancient ancestors.

(d) The present farmhouses. They preserve fairly well the style of the ancient dwelling houses. Especially their simple treatment in construction accords with the old description.

The following drawings which give a general sketch of our ancient house, are restored from the data above mentioned.



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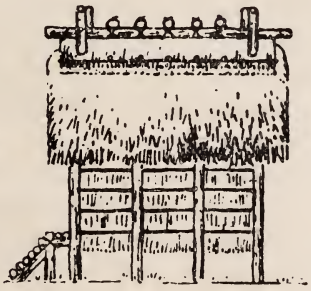


Side Elevation

Facade

All the members used here are of natural wood and all are straight. Before Buddhism was first introduced into Japan, there were no geometrical curves applied to the art of building. The principal members of construction are chiefly of wood; very commonly bamboo is used in construction. They are tied together with wistaria or wild vines and such. The roof is covered with reed or bark. The first house was a low hut, having neither posts nor floors but afterwards the floor was raised to the height of the cottage type shown in the above drawings.

C. Shinto Shrines.

The shrine, as already mentioned, has a certain style, keeping the characteristics of ancient houses in its plan, shape and construction.

There are about twenty different kinds in the style of shrine-building today; among them those of Ise Daijingū in Pref. Miye, and Izumo-Taisha in Pref. Shimane, are the most typical of ancient dwelling houses.

D. Tea-Ceremony Houses (Fig. 4 & 5).

These are the most characteristic among the buildings of Japanese origin. The sprout and development of the tea-ceremony houses are not so old; they began in the 16th century and their architecture started from the form of country houses and gradually took on a greater refinement. Its simple but radical construction, its light and clear expression is quite wonderful. I think there are found some strong influences of these Japanese tea-ceremony houses in modern European architecture in France, Germany and other countries.

IV. JAPANESE ARCHITECTURE INFLUENCED BY FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Before Buddhism was introduced, there were no large buildings or houses in Japan except built shelters such as huts and cottages. Buddhism which was introduced in the middle of the 6th century gave suddenly a great new brightness in the dark stage of architecture and other arts in Japan in those times.

Religion and art are almost always, especially in olden times, in an intimate relation. It was the case with Buddhism, and the introduction of Buddhism to Japan gave an epoch-making impulse to our building arts. We may say that architecture in Japan actually began from that time.

As is known well, China in olden times was one of the most civilized nations in the world, and its developed culture was an aspect of world aspiration. The transmission of Chinese civilization into this country began in the middle of the 6th century, and gradually increased through the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries, then ceased for a while, and then began again in the 13th century. A large number of Buddhist temples in pure Chinese style were built in this country during those centuries.

Among these styles introduced from China, we can distinguish the following three:—

(a) ASUKA style (6th and 7th centuries).
The first introduction was made though Korea from the so-called "Six dynasties" in China.

(b) NARA style (7th and 8th centuries).
ENRYAKU style (13th century).
The style of the T'ang dynasty in China.
(c) KAMAKURA style (13th century).
The style of the Sung dynasty in China.

Before the 8th century, the buildings which were influenced by the continent were only the Buddhist temples, but during the 8th and 9th centuries the Imperial palaces and government office buildings were also built in continental styles. (8th century in Nara and 9th century in Kyōto.)

After the 9th century, palaces and government offices ceased to adopt the continental manner and originated the new modified and accomplished styles of *Shindenzukuri.*

(The influences of Europe and America on Japanese architecture since 1870 A.D. will be described later.)

V. ECLECTIC AND COMPROMISED STYLE IN JAPANESE ARCHITECTURE.

A. Buddhists Temples of Compromised Style (Fig. 14 & 15).

All the different kinds of foreign style which were introduced into Japan were gradually compromised in accordance with our national climate, custom, manners and taste of the people.

Besides, Buddhism itself was divided into several Japanese denominations, so there was a necessity for each to adapt its respective form of temple building to suit its own characteristics. Here lies the reason why the compromised style arose. Almost all the Buddhist temples which were built after the 13th century belong to these compromised styles.

B. Shinto Shrines of Compromised Style.

Original Shintō shrines such as Ise-Daijingū, Izumo-Taisha and Sumiyoshi-Jinja hold to comparatively pure Japanese origins. But owing to the introduction of Buddhistic arts continental influences penetrated into shrine-building, and new compromised styles of shrine-building arose during the 8th century.

On the whole, the material used in the ancient houses and shrine buildings was plain wood, and almost all members were straight, having no colours or decorations. But later the shrines were often coloured with various tints, decorated with metal ornaments, and lines

curved in their detailed parts. They were all affected by the continental influences.

C. Castles, Warehouses, Bathhouses, Theaters and other Kinds of Public Buildings Etc.

These kinds of building made a certain progress through the middle ages and also showed foreign influence to some degree.

D. Dwelling Houses.

(From the 10th century to the present).

This type of dwelling house is the most interesting and important in the history of architecture in Japan. The dwelling house of the Japanese style of to-day has been developed after many complex phases. The course of its development is as follows:—

Shindenzukuri, Bukezukuri, Shoinzukuri, Bukeyashiki,
Present Japanese dwelling house.

1. SHINDENZUKURI (Fig. 17)

Shindenzukuri is the style of the palace building which was adopted by the successive Emperors and court nobles during and after the 10th century, and its origin is from the form of the country houses in olden times.

In the 9th century, Kyōto became the capital of Japan after the transfer from Nara. Kyōto, as is known well, is a city of natural beauties and produces many elegant and refined applied arts of original taste. The Imperial Palace buildings in Kyōto took after the Chinese style in the beginning, as was the case in Nara. But soon there appeared a Japanese style, the so-called *shindenzukuri* in which the arrangement is rather continental (that is, symmetrical), but each section was expressed after pure Japanese taste.

The present Imperial Palace in Kyōto, where the grand ceremony of accession was held last autumn, was built about seventy years ago, and is good example of this style. (Fig. 18).

2. BUKEZUKURI and SHOINZUKURI (Fig. 19)

In the 13th century the political power fell into the hands of the military class (*samurai families*) and therefore there appeared a style of *samurai* house which is called *bukezukuri* (*buke* means *samurai* families, and *zukuri* means building style).

As the majority of the *samurai* class were followers of the *zen* (Buddhistic sect introduced from China of the Southern Sung dynasty

in the 13th century), they adopted a style of *bukezukuri* which was gradually combined with that of the living houses of the priests, and in the 14th century another modified style was achieved which is called *shoinzukuri.*

In this style the main features are the following:—

Toko—An alcove or a square niche.

Shoin—A sort of bay window that came from a fixed desk on which to read books.

Genkwan—Entrance porch to the main house.

Tana—Niche, arranged near by *toko,* and equipped with one or more shelves.

shoin

This ~~*shindenzukuri*~~ was adopted only in the *samurai* families and not by the common people, whose houses were of simpler types than this style and more like country houses.

3. BUKEYASHIKI.

From the 17th century, the central government was established in Edo (present Tōkyō). Due to the growth of towns, the style of the town houses formed a new style, but it was still more simple. This new form of *bukeyashiki* (*yashiki* means residence) is the style of the dwelling house that had been developed by modification from the former *shoinzukuri.*

4. DWELLING HOUSE OF TO-DAY.

The present style of our dwelling houses (not Occidental but pure Japanese) is due to the result of the combination of the town houses and the above *bukeyashiki.* It has an elegance and refinement which came from the tea-ceremony style house. We can say the style of the present dwelling house has the most typical Japanese taste.

What are the merits there found?

(a) Simplicity:

Open mindedness and simplicity are the characteristics of our nation. Frankness is the motto of Japanese people, and simplicity is the symbol of our taste.

(b) Capacity for being thrown open in summer:

The climate being very damp, especially during summer, in this country, a closed house (that is of small window and opening) makes one feel very much oppressed. This is the reason why our dwelling houses have large openings.

What are the defects there found?

(a) Inconvenience for modern life:
Floors (*Tatami*), windows, doors, fittings and furnishings, heating arrangement and so on must be improved for modern life.

(b) Weakness against fire:
It is not of fire-proof construction. (For an earthquake, however, it is much better than a building of stone or brick masonry; it is quite easy by a little improvement to make our dwelling house of long traditional construction able to resist earthquake.)

At present a great number of the city people work during the day time in the buildings of Occidental styles, wearing European clothes and in the evening they stay in their Japanese fashion. Such "double living" is of course adverse to our life at present; therefore we should find some means to get rid of this confusion in the near future. For example, steel, glass, solid casements and windows, solid floors, cosy heating equipments, tables, desks and chairs of suitable size, shape and design should take the place of sliding doors (*to*), paper sliding screens (*shōji* and *fusuma*), *tatami, zabuton, hibachi* and so on. It may be said that these improvements are to some extent accomplished, but not perfectly.

I believe they may establish quite a new Japanese style of dwelling house, and it will not be the same as the present Occidental style of dwelling house which is now adopted in Japan. Because the form and expression of the dwelling house must be solved mainly by the manners of the people, living standards, natural circumstances and national taste.

VI. ARCHITECTURE IN JAPAN SINCE 1870 A.D.

When we compare the architecture in Japan before 1870 A.D. with that after, we can see great changes.

Though the continental influence was often so remarkable that eighty per cent of the elements in Japanese architecture may be said to be from the continent, there were also some strong traditional elements before 1870 A.D. In 1867 A.D. the national isolation policy which had been followed by the Tokugawa Shōgunate was broken by the new government under the Emperor Meiji, and Japan of the Orient became Japan of the world. It was the same in architecture; occidental architecture began to be introduced into Japan on a large scale, and the process resembled that in the middle of the 6th century when the

continental architecture was introduced with Buddhism. The Meiji and Taishō periods since 1867 A.D., therefore, may be said to be a second Asuka or Nara period. And by knowing the changes and developments of Japanese architecture after the Asuka and Nara periods, it may be possible to foresee the coming changes and developments in Japanese architecture in the future.

Parallel to the conspicuous prevalence of Occidental architecture since 1870 A.D., Japanese traditions have been also widely executed on a large scale, and at present these two different systems of architecture are standing side by side. It is quite a difficult problem before Japanese architects to harmonize these two systems of architecture in Japan.

A. Beginning of Meiji Era.

Many European architects were invited to build the government office buildings, schools, stations or other public and private buildings, and by their various nationalities there have been introduced various styles.

1. FRENCH STYLE:

Among the French engineers who were invited to the steel factories at Yokosuka and Yokohama at the end of the Tokugawa Shōgunate, were some amateur architects, and they introduced some French styles of building construction.

2. ENGLISH STYLE:

In the first year of Meiji, at the erection of the mint in Osaka, an English architect was specially invited as its designer and superintendent. Several years later an English architect, Dr. Josiah Conder, was invited as the instructor of the architectural department of the Imperial University in Tōkyō. From this time the English style of architecture (English Gothic style of brick masonry) was introduced into Japan systematically.

3. AMERICAN STYLE:

Hotels and dwelling houses for Americans were built by American architects in Yokohama at the beginning of Meiji.

4. ITALIAN STYLE:

Italian influence was not so strong, and was rather temporary. In the 9th year of Meiji, an Italian artist Chapergi, who was also an

architect was invited as the teacher of the Fine Arts Academy of Tōkyō. He designed the Military Museum on Kudan Hill, and the General Staff office at Miyakezaka (Fig. 20), both in Tōkyō.

5. GERMAN STYLE:

In the 20th year of Meiji, two German architects, Ende and Böckmann, were invited by our government to design and superintend the building of Parliament and Government buildings in Tōkyō. The building of the Department of Justice is one of their typical works. By their proposal, several young Japanese architects and workmen were despatched to Germany to study the German building system. Under such condition, the German style of architecture was introduced and showed influence on a large scale.

The styles of architecture in this period are in general English Gothic and Italian or German Renaissance, and the material and construction was brick or stone masonry, sometimes wooden-frame construction filled up with brick or stone wall. Though buildings of brick or stone masonry are most dangerous in an earthquake, earthquake-proof frame-construction such as reinforced concrete or steel-framed construction was not yet introduced. Among the structures of this period, it is interesting to see the childish eclectic buildings executed by Japanese architects who had only a little knowledge of Occidental architecture, but there are few remains now existing.

B. Middle of Meiji Era.

German styles of architecture prevailed for a short period after the 20th year of Meiji (1887 A.D.). It was the result of German national influence on Japan; the military system, for example, of Japan at that time was quite an imitation of that in Germany.

In those days, buildings on a comparatively large scale began to be designed and executed by Japanese architects themselves, among whom Dr. Kingo Tatsuno is most famous; he was one of the students under Dr. J. Conder. The representative works of Dr. Tatsuno are the buildings of Nihon-ginkō (National Bank of Japan, Fig. 21, completed in 1896.) and Tōkyō Station (Fig. 22, 1914).

C. End of Meiji Era and Present.

The great earthquake which occurred in 1901 A.D. proposed many important problems to the Japanese architects; they began to study

how to devise earthquake-proof construction, and soon they introduced the steel-framed construction of American style.

After the great disastrous earthquake of 1923 A.D., we are eagerly studying this earthquake-proof building construction from various standpoints. I believe that as regards earthquake-proof building construction Japan is one of the most advanced countries in the world in theory and practice.

Generally in Japan, buildings of three or four storeys are now constructed with reinforced concrete, and those of more storeys are steel-framed with reinforced concrete.

VII. CONCLUSION

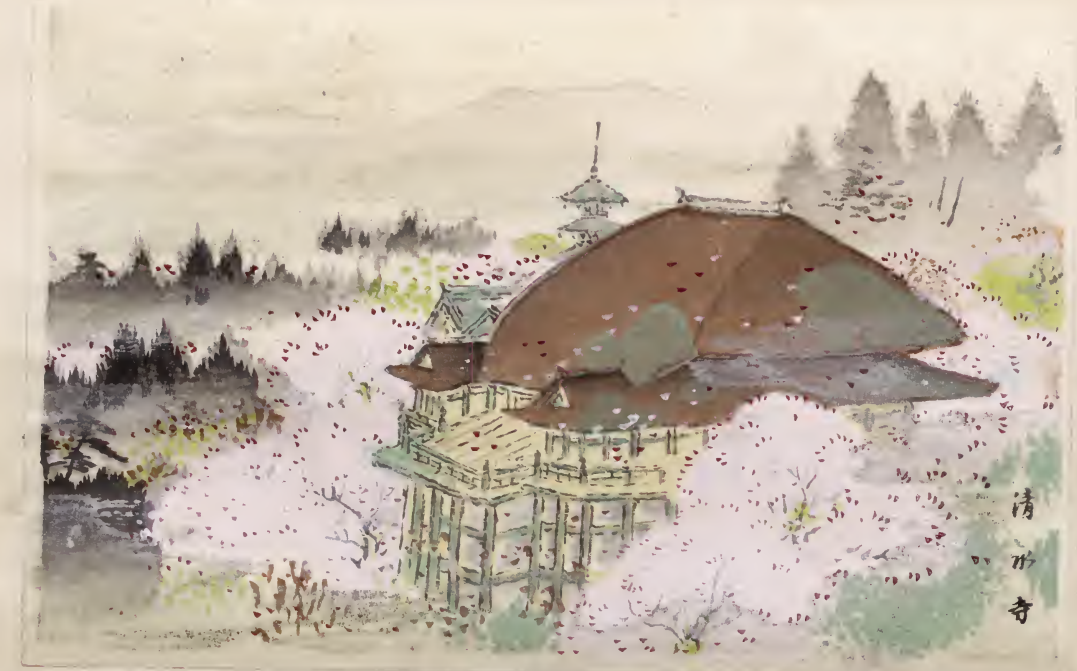
In the closing paragraphs, I wish to express my opinion as to the expression of Japanese architecture.

How to harmonize the two different styles of architecture—Occidental after 1870 and traditional Japanese before 1870—in the construction, material and expression? Here lies one of the most difficult problems set to us at present. It is, of course, quite difficult to solve this satisfactorily. However, I dare say that we can create in the near future Japanese architecture of a true and new style which is quite native.

The architecture which was introduced into Japan after 1870 was of Gothic, Renaissance or sometimes of Classic style. These were the styles of the past in Europe, and they have nothing that links them to Japanese architecture.

Modern European architecture was first introduced to Japan about 1920 by young Japanese architects. From Otto Wagner, Josef Olbrich and Josef Hoffmann to Erich Mendelsohn, Hans Pölzig, Walter Gropius and Le Corbusier, these names are quite familiar to modern Japanese architects. Modern European architects give us some interesting and useful suggestions as how to create the vivid modern architecture, but they offer us nothing to originate the true Japanese architecture.

The task before us is more difficult than that of modern European or American architects. We have severe earthquakes, long and strong traditions, and moreover modern international life.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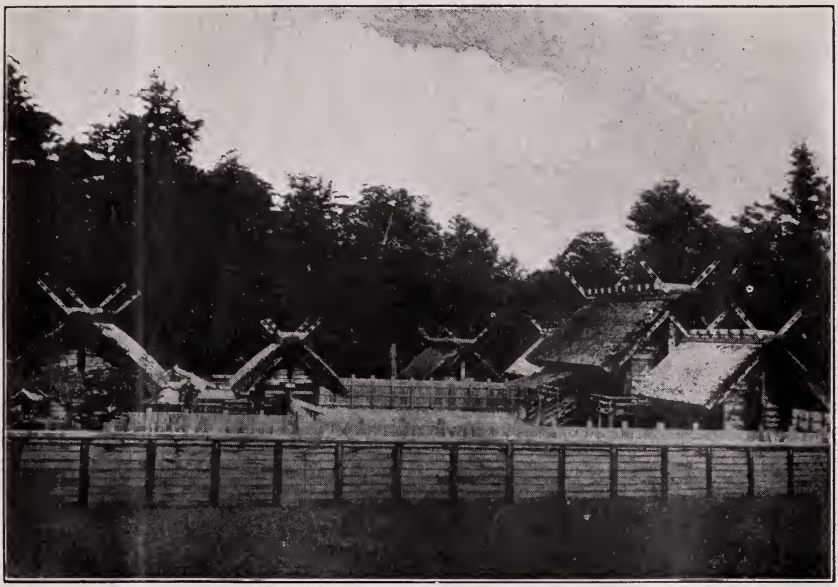

Fig. 1. Ise-daijingū, Ise

Fig. 2. The Main Shrine, Idzumo Taisha

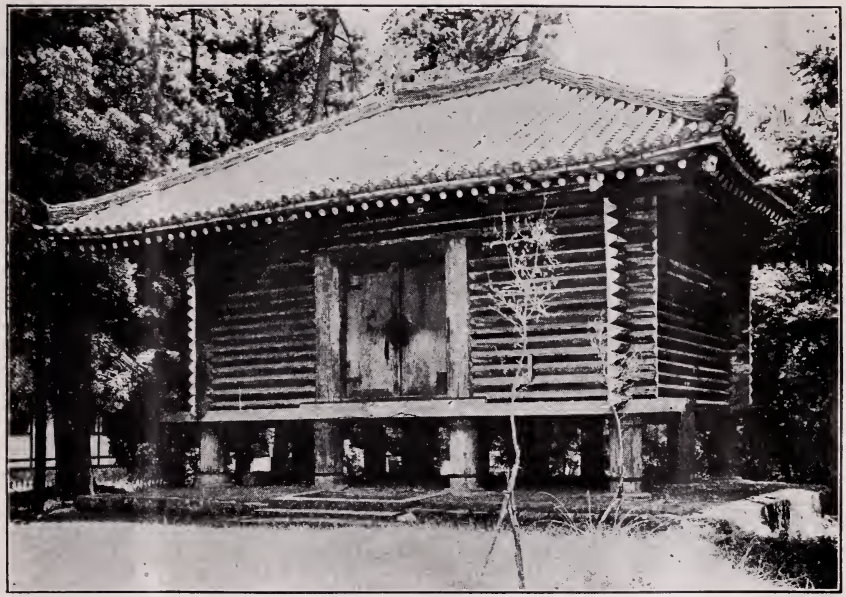

Fig. 3. Loghouse

Fig. 4. Tea-ceremony house,
Katsura Detached Palace, Kyōto. (Momoyama Era)

Fig. 5. Tea-room of Kohōan, Kyōto. (Momoyama Era)

Fig. 6. Hōryūji Kondō, Nara (Asuka Era)

Fig. 7. Yakushiji Tower, Nara (Hakuhō Era)

日光名勝
大日池

Fig. 9. Engakuji Shariden, Kamakura (Kamakura Era)

Fig. 8. Tōshōdaiji Kondō, Nara (Tempyō Era)

Fig. 10. Great Buddha Hall, Nara (Beginning of 17th century)

Fig. 11. Byōdōin, Uji (Fujiwara Era)

東都雪見八景
淺草金龍山

Fig. 12. Murōji Kondō, Nara (Kōnin Era)

Fig. 13. Temple Gate of Tōfukuji, Kyōto (Muromachi Era)

Fig. 14. One of the Momoyama Remains (Karamon of Nishihonganji, Kyōto)

日光名勝
東照宮

Fig. 15. Nikkō Yōmeimon (Edo Era)

Fig. 16. Nagoya Castle (Keep)

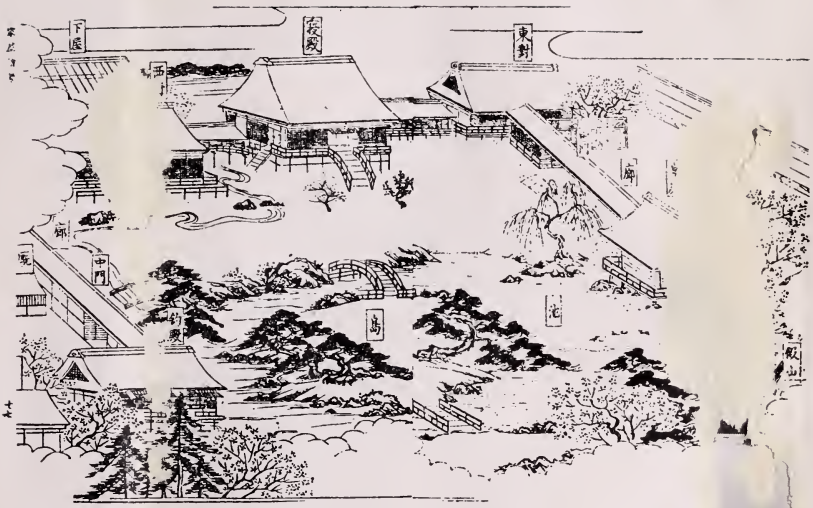

Fig. 17. Shinden-zukuri

Fig. 18. The Shishinden

愛宕下
藪小路

Fig. 19. Shoin-zukuri, Nijō Detached Palace, Kyōto. (Momoyama Era)

Fig. 20. Military General Staff Office, Tōkyō (Architect: Chaperg:)

Fig. 21. Nihon-Ginkō (The Bank of Japan), Tōkyō.
Architect: Dr. K. Tatsuno

Fig. 22. Tōkyō Station (Architect: Dr. K. Tatsuno)

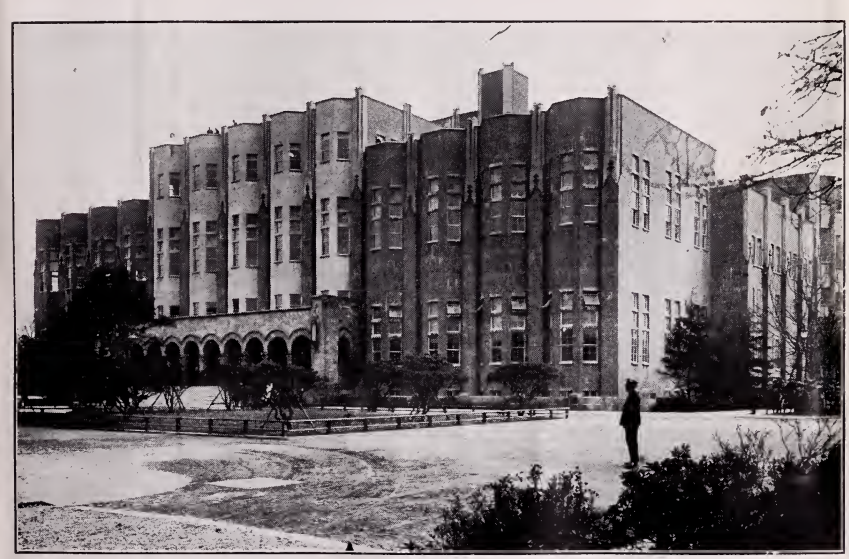

Fig. 23. Library of Tōkyō Imperial University (Dec., 1928)
Architect: Prof. Dr. Y. Uchida

Fig. 24. Japanese Modern Architecture: Shirokiya Department Store, Tokyo (Architect: K. Ishimoto) (1928)

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Ceramic Industry in Japan

1. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

Japanese pottery goes back to prehistoric times. As with other countries, potsherds are found in association with the remains of the Neolithic age. It is impossible, however, to learn anything of their manufacture and development until they come to be recorded in history. Not only so, but precise historical facts relating to the pre-Kamakura period (before the 13th century) are extremely few in the records. Although we first learned the potter's art from Korea and China, as will be seen later, our potters too studied and developed their art so intensively that they succeeded in elaborating characteristic wares and decorations in harmony with their own taste. Among their characteristic developments special attention may be drawn to the utensils for *cha-no-yu* (commonly known as tea ceremonies, but more properly described as an institution, or ritual, rooted in the almost devotional recognition of the beautiful amid the sordid facts of everyday life), these being an embodiment of the spirit symbolized by the tea ritual, their aesthetic charm and spiritualized beauty being something which is only to be truly appreciated by our own people. These special utensils exerted great influence on our ceramic wares in general, thus making it somewhat difficult for the people of other countries to comprehend the intrinsic beauty of our pottery and the taste which inspired its characteristic forms and decoration.

Pottery may be divided into two classes according to its function: (1) that where the main purpose is utilitarian, and (2) that having a decorative purpose as well. It may be observed that prehistoric pottery, though some of it is decorated, is in the main utilitarian. Subsequent to the proto-historic period, pottery belongs essentially to the second class. With the introduction of Western methods of scientific manufacture into our country since the Restoration of the Meiji era (1868), together with the general advance of civilization during the last sixty years, striking technical progress has been made in the manufacture both of the industrial and artistic classes of pottery. As a result, not only do we now produce wares, which, in former times, were almost entirely absorbed by internal needs, in sufficient quantities to make foreign importation unnecessary, but the development has been so great that the manufacture of pottery for the for-

eign market has gradually increased until it is now counted as one of the more important items among our exports.

Let us now proceed to deal with the history and present condition of our pottery, the historical review falling within two periods: the first taking the craft of the potter down to the end of the Tokugawa dynasty (-1867), and the second continuing the history of the industry from the Restoration down to the present day (1868-1928).

2. FIRST PERIOD.

The earliest manufacture of pottery in Japan is recorded as dating back to the mythical age prior to the enthronement of the Emperor Jimmu in 660 B.C., and these products are known as *hani-mono* and *suye-mono.*

Later, in the third year of the reign of the Emperor Suinin (27 B.C.) a Shiragi (Korean) prince named Ameno Hihoko was naturalized in Japan, and one of his attendants made pottery in the Shiragi style. This is said to be the first importation into Japan of foreign technique in the potter's art.

In the thirty-second year of the same reign (3 A.D.) Nomi-no-Sukune is credited with the first *haniwa,* terracotta figures of human beings, horses and other objects used as substitutes for the immolation of living men and animals on the master's death. Sukune was appointed chief of the Board of Potters (*Hashi Shoku*) and to him was given by the Emperor the family name of Hashi, indication of his craft.

Intercourse between Japan and Korea, which then consisted of the kingdoms of Shiragi, Korai, and Kudara, became more intimate after the Empress Jingo's personally conducted expedition to those kingdoms in defence of Japan's sea frontiers in the ninth year of the reign of the Emperor Chuai (200 A.D.). Such intercourse naturally had a stimulating effect on the ceramic art of our country.

It was in 463, in the seventh year of the reign of the Emperor Yuryaku, that an eminent potter named Koki was invited over from Korea in order to encourage the manufacture of pottery in our country, and thenceforward Korean influence was disseminated all over the country as far as the potter's art was concerned.

In 646, the second year of the reign of the Emperor Kōtoku, when the great reform took place, the *Hashi-Shoku* was abolished, and within the *Daizen Shoku* (Imperial Board of Cookery) there was establish-

ed the *Hako Suye-mono no Tsukasa* (Office of Box and Pottery Making), under which the potters came.

Later, in the reign of the Emperor Mommu (697-707) a priest by the name of Gyogi discovered a new method of making pottery which he propagated among our potters. He was able to make a much harder ware which came to be known as *Gyogi-yaki* (Gyogi ware).

When we come down to the Nara period (710-781) the intercourse between Japan and the China of the T'ang dynasty became very close, and a glazed, wheel-made soft earthenware, known in Japan as *Shino utsuwa-mono,* was imported and was highly appreciated by the Court and by the upper classes of society. It is from about this time on that the fashion of using the potter's wheel and of glazing pottery is said to have spread in Japan.

In Daidō 3 (808), in the reign of the Emperor Heijo, the Office of Box and Pottery Making was amalgamated with the Imperial Board of Cookery, and in Engi 5 (905), in the reign of the Emperor Daigo, pottery came to be accepted as a tribute.

Soon afterwards, however, in Tengyo 2 (939), in the reign of the Emperor Shujaku, a civil war broke out and the potters neglected their craft, leaving the industry to decline until something else was substituted as the tribute. What little pottery was still made was crude. It declined during the three centuries that followed, and the pottery in the Imperial Board of Cookery too was at a very low ebb.

However, in the Kamakura period a change came. In Jōō 2 (1223), in the reign of the Emperor Gohorikawa, Katō Shirozayemon Kagemasa (commonly known as Tōshiro) went to Sung (China) with the priest Dōgen, and studied the potter's art. Upon his return in Anjō 1 (1227) Tōshiro built a kiln at Seto, close to Akazu in the province of Owari, long known as a pottery district. Thus the ceramic art of the Sung dynasty was brought to our country, and greatly influenced our pottery. The industry prospered at Seto, and so quickened the potter's craft that the eastern half of the Empire came to designate pottery in general by the name of "Seto mono" (meaning Seto ware), and the district still ranks highest to-day in pottery production. The contribution made by Tōshiro to our ceramic industry was immeasurably great, and it is no wonder that he is revered by posterity as the "Father of Pottery."

It was in the Kōan era (1278-87), under the reign of the Emperor Gouda, that *Shiragi-yaki* came to be produced at Nagano, in the province of Omi. Later, the tea men came to take a great fancy to this ware, and the *cha-no-yu* utensils made in the style by the Nagano

and Kyoto potters have come to be highly appreciated, especially as regards the *cha-no-yu* vessels called *Shōō-Shigaragi, Rikyu-Shigaragi, Sōtan-Shigaragi, Enshū-Shigaragi, Kūchū-Shigaragi, Ninsei-Shigaragi, Shimbei-Shigaragi,* etc., each variety bearing the name of a great tea-master or famous potter.

Working with clay found at Kinkazan in Mino province, Tōshirō the third succeeded in firing his pottery after the manner employed for the old Seto ware. And ever since Kagetoyo, the grandson of Kageharu (the tenth Tōshirō), came to live and work at Kukuri-mura in Mino, the potter's industry has gradually developed until to-day the province of Mino is among the chief producers, coming second only to Owari.

Karatsu-yaki was first produced at Karatsu, in Hizen province, in the Genkō era (1321-3), in the reign of the Emperor Godaigo. The ware is known by different names according to the date of its production—*Yonehakari, Nenuke,* and *Okukōrai,* constituting what is known as *Ko-karatsu* (Old Karatsu); *Seto Karatsu, Chōsen Karatsu, Egaratsu,* (Painted Karatsu), *Horidashi Karatsu* (Dug-up Karatsu), *Kenjō Karatsu* (Presentation Karatsu) for the later varieties. It may be observed that kilns must have existed in this district from a very remote period, as there had been constant local intercourse with Korea and China from ancient times. Actual records of early kilns, however, are somewhat obscure. The industry rose to such prominence in course of time that in our western districts pottery in general has come to be known as "Karatsu mono" (Karatsu ware).

Iga-yaki was first produced in the Kenmu era (1334-35), during the reign of the Emperor Godaigo, at Marubashira in the province of Iga, the early variety being called *Ko-Iga* (Old Iga). The later product, such as the tea utensils catering for the taste of the tea men and feudal lords, came to be greatly admired under the style of *Enshū Iga,* Enshu being the name of a great connoisseur and tea-master, or *Tōdo Iga,* Tōdo being the name of the feudal lord in whose dominion the variety was produced.

Bizen-yaki originated at Imbe, in the province of Bizen, during the Oei era (1394-1427) under the reigns of the Emperors Gokomatsu and Shōkō. But it was not until later, when Toyotomi Hideyoshi had some *cha-no-yu* utensils made there, that the ware became famous. It embraces several varieties, such as *Imbe, Hidasuki, Ao-Bizen* (green) *Iro Bizen* (coloured), etc., each having some characteristic peculiarity.

From the middle of the Ashikaga period (the middle of the 15th century) the *cha-no-yu* came into general vogue, bringing in its train

such accomplishments as the incense game and the art of flower arrangement. As years went on, the tea ceremonial flourished more and more, and its principal utensil was of pottery. The people of those days were much under the influence of Zen, a contemplative school of Buddhism, and greatly esteemed simplicity in artistic expression while appreciating subtle shades of feeling. Consequently, the tea men, as well as those in high places, themselves tried to devise original designs for their own utensils expressive of their individual taste, or else induced the potters to contrive something new for them, or bestowed their protection and gave encouragement to the production of artistic pottery in other ways. As a result, master potters appeared even in times of war and trouble in various districts, each developing his own characteristic product differing from those of other parts of the country.

In the Bunmei era (1469-86), in the reign of the Emperor Tsuchimikado, there lived a tea-master named Shino Sōshin, a vassal of the Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimasa, himself a great exponent of the *cha-no-yu* and a patron of art. This tea-master directed a potter of Seto to make him some tea utensils after a design of his own. He had the piece covered with a thick white glaze, decorated with naive childlike drawings done in an iron pigment. The ware so produced was characterized by its simple elegance. Henceforth, similar wares have come to be known as *Shino-yaki*.

Raku-yaki was made in Kyoto during the Eishō era (1504-20) by a naturalized subject named Ameya, who is claimed as a Korean by some, and as a Chinese by others. His son, Chōyū, made many tea utensils to the command of Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi, using the designs furnished by the great tea-master Sen-no-Rikyu, and he was the first of the *Raku-yaki* potters.

In the year 1513, in the reign of the Emperor Gokashiwara, Gorodayū Shonzui is said to have returned from Ming (China) and to have made blue underglaze painted porcelain in Hizen province. But documentary evidence is lacking.

None the less, it is interesting to observe that in the Dai-ei era (1521-7), under the same reign, *Shitoro-yaki* was originated at Shitoro in Tōtōmi province. And in the beginning of the Tokugawa period this became one of the seven favourite kilns patronized by Kobori Masakazu, the founder of the Enshū school of *cha-no-yu*, the other kilns being those of Zeze (Omi province), Asahi (Yamashiro province), Akahada (Yamato province), Kosobe (Settsu province), Agano (Buzen province) and Takatori (Chikuzen province).

It was in the Eiroku era (1558-69), when the Emperor Ogimachi was on the throne, that *Utsutsugawa-yaki* was first produced by Tanaka Sōetsu and others at Utsutsugawano, in Hizen province, this being a copy of the *Mishima* ware of Korea.

In the same reign, in the Genki era (1570-2), *Taishū-yaki,* resembling a Korean ware, was first produced in Tsushima province. And it was in this same reign, in the Tenshō era (1573-91), that a kiln was opened at Tokoname, in Owari province, producing the *Tokoname-yaki* which strongly resembled the *Bizen* ware already mentioned.

During the same era a tea-master named Furuta Oribe-no-kami Shigeyoshi directed a Seto potter to make some tea utensils after his own design. Generally speaking, the ware resembles the *Shino-yaki* already referred to, being covered with black or green glaze and then painted over with iron pigments. This ware has come to be known as *Oribe-yaki.*

At about the same time other kilns were being established, and *Tamba-yaki* was produced at Tachigui, in Tamba province, *Yanagawa-yaki* at Yanagawa in Chikugo province, and *Etchu Seto* at Uwadan in Etchu province.

When Toyotomi Hideyoshi's army returned in Keichō 3 (1598), in the reign of the Emperor Goyōzei, from its successful expedition against Korea, most of the generals of the southwestern part of our country were accompanied by potters from Korea, and under the generous protection of those military leaders kilns after the Korean fashion were established in the various districts they dominated. It is not to be wondered at that this infused new life into the Japanese craft. Among these patrons of the ceramic art we find Nabeshima Naoshige's chief retainer, Taku Yasuyoshi, who brought back with him a Korean potter named Risampei (later he came to be called Kanagae), who succeeded in producing in Japan the first genuine porcelain at Arita, in Hizen province, in a Korean-style kiln. This stimulated the opening of many other kilns in the neighbourhood. Their products became famous, and were known as a whole either as *Imari-yaki* or *Arita-yaki.* In Shōhō 4 (1647), in the reign of the Emperor Gokōmyo, a potter named Higashijima Tokuzaemon, of Imari of the same province, learned the art of painting and colouring glazes from a Chinese named Shinkwan at Nagasaki. And he transmitted the art to Sakaida Kakiemon, of Nangawara of the same province, who finally perfected a polychrome porcelain and originated the *Nishiki-de* with decorations in gold and in colour. These pieces were sold to the Chinese at Nagasaki and this is said to be the beginning of the foreign export of our pottery. The

Okawachi kiln was opened in the Kyohō era (1716-35) in the reign of the Emperor Nakamikado and produced an excellent ware for the exclusive use of the Lord Nabeshima, who prohibited its sale to others. This ware is known as *Iro-Nabeshima,* or "Coloured Nabeshima."

Mōri Terumoto was another of these patrons, having built a kiln at Hagi in Nagato province for a potter named Rikei, who later changed his name to Saka Kōraizaemon and originated what is now known as *Hagi-yaki.*

Katō Kiyomasa was still another. He it was who brought over two potters and settled them at the foot of a hill named Shōdaisan in Higo province, where *Shōdai-yaki* was born.

Kuroda Nagamasa was yet another warrior who returned with Korean potters in his train. He caused a potter known by the Japanese name Hachizo from Ido in Korea, and his father-in-law Shinkuro, to start a kiln at Takatori, Chikuzen province, and was thus the originator of what is now known as *Takatori-yaki.*

Hosokawa Tadaoki was also of their number. He established a potter named Sonkai (who later changed his name to Agano Hachizō Takakuni) at Agano, in Buzen province. The ware produced there was called *Agano-yaki.* Later, when Tadatoshi, Tadatoki's son, was removed to another chieftainship in Higo province, Hachizō followed him and continued producing pottery at Kōda which came to be known as *Kōda-yaki* or *Yatsushiro-yaki.*

Shimazu Yoshihiro favoured the craft of Korean potters, and he brought over with him such potters as Hōchu, Bokuheii and more than a dozen others, whom he distributed in Kagoshima and Naeshirogawa, both in Satsuma province, and in Chōsa in Osumi province, and started them producing pottery. (Chōsa was later abandoned in favour of Ryumonji). Wares produced under Shimazu's patronage are known as *Satsuma-yaki, Chōsa-yaki,* and *Ryumonji-yaki.*

Matsura Shizunobu was another of the patrons. He brought a potter named Kyo-kwan (who later changed his name to Imamura) to Higashi Sonogi in Hizen province, and *Mikawachi-yaki,* or *Hirado-yaki,* is the name of the ware thus produced.

It was towards the end of the Toyotomi period (1582-1602) that the above-mentioned Korean potters became naturalized in Japan and opened their kilns in the dominions of the warrior masters whom they had accompanied from Korea, forsaking their native home.

Coming now to the Tokugawa period (1603-1867), the long continued internal disturbances at last subsided and peace reigned throughout the country. There was a general advancement of culture and deve-

lopment of the arts, both fine and applied. As for ceramic wares, the *cha-no-yu,* which had been in vogue since the Ashikaga period, came into still greater favour, and thus there was evoked a veritable passion for the various utensils, such as tea-bowls, caddies, water-jars, and incense-cases, as well as for flower vases and censers. The feudal lords were eager to establish kilns within the precincts of their provincial castles or their town mansions in Edo (now Tokyo), and vied with each other in the production of such utensils by their own kilns. The wares so produced were known as *Oniwa-yaki* (honourable garden ware). It was a matter of pride for a feudal lord to possess a kiln within his own domain. Such a state of affairs naturally stimulated the development of the potter's art. There was hardly a province which did not produce, each with its own characteristic peculiarity, not merely domestic pottery, but also pieces of artistic and decorative value. Thus the Tokugawa period was a golden age for pottery. The following are the principal kilns of the period:

A great master-potter, Nonomura Ninsei, appeared in Kyoto in the Kwan-ei era (1624-43) in the reign of the Emperor Gomizuno-o. Prior to him there were at work "Chawanya" Kyubei at Kiyomizu, and Sanmonjiya Kuyemon at Awataguchi, but it was Ninsei who perfected the so-called *Kyo-yaki,* or Kyoto ware. He built many kilns at Kiyomizu, Awataguchi and elsewhere. Despising the older method of copying Korean or Chinese pottery, he applied himself to the production of a ware of purely Japanese inspiration, both in regard to form and decoration. This Japanese inspiration was the characteristic mark of his product, which was highly appreciated for its grace and refinement. After Ninsei, the *Kyo-yaki* tradition followed two streams, as it were, the *Kiyomizu-yaki* and the *Awata-yaki.* The importance of Kyoto ware was greatly enhanced by such master potters as Okuda Eisen, Takahashi Dōhachi, Kiyomizu Rokubei, Aoki Mokubei, Eiraku Hozen, etc.

At the command of Maeda Toshiharu, the feudal lord of Daishōji in Kaga province, Tamura Gozayemon, his vassal, constructed a kiln at Kutani within the province in Kwan-ei 5 (1628), in the reign of the Emperor Gomizuno-o. From this kiln issued the *Kutani-yaki.* In the Manji era (1658-60), when the Emperor Gosaiin reigned, Toshiaki, Toshiharu's son, despatched Gotō Saijirō, his vassal, to Arita in order to master the art of applying a colour glaze on porcelain. When Saijirō returned with the secret, he met Kusumi Morikage, a Kyoto artist, who happened to be visiting there. This artist painted the pieces in five colours—red, yellow, blue, purple, and indigo—and they were further embellished with gold, which thus added brilliancy

to the charm and exquisite beauty of the decoration. These pieces are known as *Kō-Kutani* (Old Kutani). The kiln, however, was abandoned after Saijiro's death. Nevertheless, after a lapse of about 150 years the fame of the Kutani ware was revived by Yoshidaya Denyemon, who produced the *Ao-Kutani* (Green Kutani), and also by Iida Hachiroyemon, who devised the *Kinran-de* with a gold and polychrome decoration.

In Shōhō 2 (1645), in the reign of the Emperor Gokōmyo, Mizuno Genzaemon, a native of Mino province, serving Matsudaira Masayuki, the feudal lord of Wakamatsu in Iwashiro province, opened a kiln at Hongo in the same province, and originated the *Aizu-yaki* otherwise known as *Wakamatsu-yaki.*

It was in the Empō era (1673-80), in the reign of the Emperor Reigen, that a potter named Kurasaki Gombei Shigeyoshi, a pupil of Koraizayemon of Hagi, came to Izumo at the invitation of Matsudaira Tsunataka, feudal lord of Matsue, in Izumo province, and began producing a ware at Nishikawazu. The pottery made there is known as *Rakusan-yaki.* Again in Meiwa (1764), in the reign of the Empress Gosakuramachi, Funaki Yojibei Muramasa started baking pottery at Fushina, also in Izumo province, which ware is known as *Fushina-yaki.* The products of these two kilns are known generally as *Izumo-yaki,* and were greatly encouraged in the Kwansei era (1789-1800), in the reign of the Emperor Kōkaku, under the zealous protection of the lord Harusato (more commonly known as the lord Fumai) the originator of the Unshū school of *cha-no-yu,* he himself furnishing original designs for the tea utensils.

In the Genroku era (1688-1703), in the reign of the Emperor Higashiyama, Ogata Kenzan made glazed earthenware in Kyoto resembling the *Raku-yaki,* his ware being known as *Kenzan-yaki.* Kenzan was the younger brother of the famous painter Ogata Kōrin, and was able not only to paint well but also to decorate his ware with exquisite designs whose charm is due to their freedom of treatment and vivacity of expression, qualities never equalled by others who strove to follow him. Towards the end of his life he moved to Edo (now Tokyo), and continued to make pottery somewhere in the Iriya district.

In the Gembun era (1736-40), when the Emperor Sakuramachi was on the throne, Numanami Gozaemon, a tea man who lived at Kuwana, in Ise province, was skilled in making a soft glazed earthenware (*Raku-yaki*). Moreover, as he had a complete knowledge of coloured glazes and of the method of painting the Cochin and Dutch

ware, he succeeded in producing a special ware of his own, which gave rise to the characteristic *Banko-yaki.*

At the invitation of Tokugawa Jihō, feudal lord of Kii province, Eiraku Hozen of Kyoto went to Wakayama during the Bunsei era (1818-29), in the reign of the Emperor Ninkō, and built a kiln in the garden of the lord's villa at Nishihama. The product of this kiln is called *Kishu Oniwa-yaki,* or *Kairakuen-yaki.*

The *Awaji-yaki* was first produced in Bunsei 12 (1829), in the reign of the same Emperor, by a native of Igano, in Awaji province, named Gashū Mimpei.

From all over Japan there have been produced a large number of other wares too numerous to be named here. Below will be found a table showing some of the more important among them:

Name of the Ware	Provenance	Originator	Approximate Date of Origin	Present Condition
Kosobe-yaki	Kosobe, Settsu prov.	—	1620	Abandoned
Zeze-yaki	Zeze, Ōmi prov.	Ishikawa Tadafusa	1620	
Sado-yaki	Aikawa, Sado prov.	Kurozawa Kintaro	1620	
Ofuke-yaki	Nagoya City	—	1620	
Akahada-yaki	Miato, Yamato prov.	Jihei	1640	
Asahi-yaki	Uji, Yamashiro prov.	—	1640	
Sōma-yaki	Nakamura, Iwaki prov.	Tashiro Gorozayemon	1650	
Takahara-yaki	Ōsaka City	Takahara Ichizayemon	1650	Abandoned
Odo-yaki	Kōchi City	Kuno Shōhaku	1650	Abandoned
Gempin-yaki	Seto, Owari prov.	Chin Gempin	1660	Abandoned
Ōhi-yaki	Kanazawa City	Ōhi Chozayemon	1680	
Izushi-yaki	Izushi, Tajima prov.	Hase Jirobei	1720	
Inuyama-yaki	Inuyama, Owari prov.	—	1750	
Hirasa-yaki	Hirasa, Satsuma prov.	—	1770	
Antō-yaki	Antō, Ise prov.	Hattori Juzayemon	1780	Abandoned
Tobe-yaki	Tobe, Iyo prov.	Katō Saburobei	1780	
Sanda-yaki	Sanda, Settsu prov.	Kanda Sōbei	1790	
Kikko-yaki	Ōsaka City	Kikko Jihei	1800	

Name of the Ware	Provenance	Originator		Present Condition
Mushiake-yaki	Mokake, Bizen prov.	Iki	1800	
Hirashimizu-yaki	Takiyama, Uzen prov.	Ono Tojihei	1800	
Akashi-yaki	Akashi City	Teraoka Isojiro	1810	
Kameyama-yaki	Nagasaki City	—	1810	
Kotō-yaki	Hikone, Ōmi prov.	Shimaya Heisuke & 2 others	1830	Abandoned
Tōzan-yaki	Himeji City	Shigeuchi Kōsuke	1830	
Mashiko-yaki	Mashiko, Shimozuke prov.	Ōtsuka Keizaburo	1850	
Onko-yahi	Akasaka, Mino prov.	Shimizu Heishichi	1850	

The country was in a state of unrest towards the end of the Tokugawa period, and its industries were neglected. A severe blow was dealt to the pottery industry which so lately had been at the height of its prosperity. The kilns in the demesnes of the feudal lords were abandoned and left to crumble to ruin, and the ceramic industry dwindled away among the poeple. The Restoration of 1868 took place during this phase, changing every aspect of the national life.

3. SECOND PERIOD.

The manufacture of pottery in Japan became industrialized, as we see it to-day, after the Meiji Restoration, as was the case with various other industries. The encouragement given to the pottery industry by the government, the importation of various machines after investigation abroad, the employment of foreign specialists, the experimental use of coal firing kilns—all these and still other factors were instrumental in substituting the mechanized factory system of the West for the manual methods of manufacture hitherto employed. Marked progress was thus brought about after the beginning of the 20th century, following on a period of gradual enlightenment. The reason for the remarkable progress of the pottery industry in Japan during the past 50 - 60 years is of course the improvement of manufacturing method. But if there were not the foundation of the Oriental pottery art from ancient times, it would have been impossible for us to have the present industrial evolution. The tendency of mechanization in the treatment of raw materials as

well as formation of pottery is a conspicuous fact. Though it has taken a certain lapse of time in the old pottery districts to change over from their old-style wood-firing *noborigama* (slope kilns) to new coal-firing kilns, the change has taken place gradually from the Taishō era (1912-25) onward, and now the *noborigama* (slope-kilns) are fast disappearing. Not only have almost all the principal pottery districts adopted coal-firing kilns, but big factories are even contemplating the adoption of oil-firing instead of coal-firing, and electric furnaces are already coming into use for the over-glaze decoration.

Increased efficiency and the minimizing of the cost of production are the most urgent need. There is but little margin for cutting down costs of material, but labour costs might be cut down by improvements in the methods of manufacture, and by reducing to the minimum the number of persons employed by resorting to mechanization. This, however, is by no means an easy matter. Consequently, there is no other means of saving than by economizing on the cost of fuel, which constitutes from 30 to 50 percent. of the whole cost of production. In order to effect such an economy it would be necessary to cut down the fuel to at least one-half by adopting the tunnel kiln. Since the pottery industry, by its nature, can be started with little capital and on a small scale, it results that the great majority of potteries consist of small factories, and their financial and working conditions are such that, without amalgamation, it would be extremely difficult for them to change over to the use of the tunnel kiln. Already, however, there are one or two big factories which have lately installed several tunnel kilns. The tendency is also discernable for the question of such equipment to be mooted in each district, and it will materialize sooner or later.

It may be observed that the principle of a division of labour is gradually spreading in pottery districts, though it was late in coming. There is a marked tendency towards an increase in specialization of labour on the making of body, on formation, firing, decorating, making of saggars, etc. The practice of cooperative buying of fuel and material exists to some extent, and sooner or later a cooperative shop system may come into being. Of course, the ground for such a system is as yet hardly prepared. Yet unless some concerns, run on economic lines such as these, are created, those engaged in our potteries will be unable to save themselves from the slow self-destruction to which they are doomed.

Generally speaking, in recent years our potteries have been in a depressed condition judged economically, although viewed qualitative-

ly there has been marked improvement. Take, for instance, hard porcelain for table use. Its quality has been so improved that it is being exported not only to America, but even to Europe as well. Of late years the artistic hard porcelain made by the Okura Tōyen may be favourably compared with the high class goods of France and Germany. Furthermore, we now produce hard faience, sanitary ware, high-voltage insulators, chemical porcelain, etc., which are by no means inferior to the best that Europe and America can supply. Keeping pace with the increase of European-style architecture, and the improvement of street surfaces, the quality of ceramic products for the building industry such as glazed roofing tiles, drain and water pipes, wall and paving tiles, has been improved, and the output considerably increased. Terracotta ware, too, of fairly good quality is now produced.

The country provides all the materials for our ceramic industries. The key material consists of decomposed liparite, which is found in various districts. Of plastic raw materials, Gairome clay and Kibushi clay are representative, both being available in the middle section of our country. Feldspar and quartz come from various parts of the country, coloured clay, the material for stoneware, being no less abundant, while kaolin is supplied from Korea. Formerly the factories were located in the proximity of the materials. Since the beginning of the Meiji era, however, new factories have been established in places within comparatively easy access of them as an inevitable phase of the general principle governing all industries. Needless to say, mechanization of the methods of manufacture characterizes the modern factories, and this tendency is visible in many pottery districts, as has been already observed. Nevertheless, there still exist in no small number those who follow the manual method of manufacture.

In order to afford a general survey of the present condition of the pottery industry of Japan we append a table giving the available figures concerning our potteries, glost fire kilns, workpeople employed, ware produced, etc.

Year	Number of Potteries	Number of Glost Firing Kilns	Work People		
			Male	Female	Total
1924	7,472	2,667	32,084	12,209	44,293
1925	7,496	3,461	30,809	12,962	43,771
1926	7,020	3,571	32,282	13,144	45,426

Year	Table Wares	Furnishing and Decorative Wares	Industrial Wares	Insulator	Toys	Misce.	Total
1926	40,279	13,298	4,132	5,172	1,109	4,543	68,533
1924	50,151	13,960	3,456	5,062	1,273	4,275	68,177
1925	43,593	15,465	3,627	6,204	383	4,697	73,971

Thus it may be gathered that the industry averages only about 6 workpeople to a pottery (whether on a large scale or consisting only of individually worked kilns), which implies the small scale of many of the potteries. The statistics for the year 1924 show the following figures:

(No. of Potteries)	(More than)	Employing	(But less than)
476	5 persons		10 persons
147	10 "		15 "
100	15 "		30 "
40	30 "		50 "
25	50 "		100 "
22	100 "		500 "
3	500 "		1000 "
1	1000 "		
814	(Total)		

It will be seen that the potteries employing less than 5 persons number no less than 6,658 (=7,472 −814). The chief centre of pottery manufacture is Aichi prefecture, producing about one-half of the entire output of the country. The followings are the principal pottery producing prefectures. (The value is given in units of 1,000 yen)

Year	Aichi	Gifu	Kyoto	Saga	Miye
1924	27,897	12,402	4,041	3,562	3,255
1925	36,178	13,119	3,855	3,712	3,277
1926	34,223	10,608	4,368	4,349	3,482

Year	Ishikawa	Osaka	Hyogo	Fukuoka	Nagasaki
1924	2,441	1,822	1,668	1,956	1,886
1925	2,481	1,742	2,926	1,835	1,696
1926	2,295	2,176	2,419	1,963	404

Value of exports for 1867 and for every fifth year thereafter: (given in units of one thousand yen)

1867	1872	1877	1882	1887	1892	
23	45	121	572	1,312	1,480	
1897	1902	1907	1912	1917	1922	1927
1,819	2,461	7,216	5,452	12,104	20,791	30,491

The total amount of exports in this line during the last two or three years is equal to about 50 percent. of the entire production, thus ranking pottery fifth among our exports, and first among our chemical industries. The value and the countries to which our ceramics are exported are as follows: (Quoted in units of 1,000 yen)

Year	China	Kwantung	Hongkong	British India	Straits Settlements	Dutch India	Philippine	England
1925	2,165	1,312	391	3,476	2,633	5,826	728	672
1926	2,382	1,233	303	2,934	1,744	3,260	651	612
1927	1,596	1,189	617	2,526	937	4,254	851	417

Year	France	Holland	U.S.A.	Canada	Argentine	Africa	Australia	Others	Total
1925	723	591	12,022	975	199	243	1,032	2,285	35,272
1926	585	499	13,948	1,228	159	178	1,111	2,255	33,182
1927	292	517	12,244	1,225	277	337	972	2,280	30,491

The products include not only high-voltage insulators, but chemical porcelain, sparking plugs, and dental porcelain as well. Our ceramic ware may be classified for commercial purposes as follows, according to the quality and make:

PORCELAIN. Common and hard porcelains (chiefly for table ware); electrical high and low voltage insulators; porcelain for chemical, physical and dental purposes.

FAIENCE. Hard faience (chiefly for table ware); sanitary ware; tiles and conventional ware.

STONEWARE. Conventional ware; stoneware for chemical purpose; main water pipes, tiles, etc.

EARTHENWARE. Glazed and non-glazed earthenware.

There are maintained by the government a Ceramic Experimental Station (Kyoto City) and the Tokyo Industrial Experimental Station

III. The former carries on industrial and artistic research and the testing of pottery, whilst the latter deals only with the industrial aspects of ceramics. Furthermore, the Osaka Industrial Testing Station, Section III, carries researches into, and experiments with, our enamel, glass, refractories, gypsum, etc. Each of these stations issues from time to time reports for the guidance of the men in those industries, furnishing them with useful information. Apart from these, there are many facilities for research in institutions maintained by the prefectures and municipalities. There are experimental stations in the Hokkaido (Sapporo), in Ishikawa prefecture (Kanazawa City), Gifu prefecture (Tajimi-machi), Aichi prefecture (Nagoya City), Miye prefecture (Yokkaichi), Shiga prefecture (Nagano-machi) and such others as Shimane, Tottori, and Hyogo prefectures, and in Kyoto City, each dealing with problems intimately concerning the potteries of the region. Lecture courses on ceramic are given in the Imperial Universities of Tokyo, Kyoto, Tōhoku, and Kyūshū, and there is a Department of Ceramics in the Tokyo Higher School of Technology (which was promoted to the status of a College of Engineering this year). In addition, there are special schools for ceramics (instead of ordinary Middle Schools) in the towns of Seto, Arita, and Tajima, and in the cities of Kanazawa and Kyoto, as well as in Ehime prefecture (Tobamura). From all these institutions a large number of technicians are supplied to the ceramic industry.

Principal Pottery Manufactories	Products.	Capital in units of ¥10,000	Paid up
Nihon Tōki Kabushikikaisha (Nagoya City) (Japan Pottery Co.)	Porcelain for Table Wares, etc.	200	——
Kabushikikaisha Nagoya Seitōsho (Nagoya City) (Nagoya Pottery Co.)	Porcelain for Table Ware, Sanitary Wares, etc.	100	100
Tōyō Tōki Kabushikikaisha (Kokura City) (Oriental Pottery Co.)	Hard Porcelains, Hard Faience, etc.	200	132.5
Nihon Gaishi Kabushikikaisha (Nagoya City) (Japan Insulator Co.)	High Voltage Insulators, etc.	200	——
Shōfū Kōgyo Kabushikikaisha (Kyoto City) (Shōfū Industrial Co.)	High Voltage Insulators, Chemical Porcelains, etc.	200	100

Osaka Tōgyo Kabushikikaisha (Kishiwada) (Osaka Pottery Co.)	High Voltage Insulators, Ceramic Ware for the building industry.	300	——
Kōran Gōmeikaisha (Arita-machi) (Koran Co.)	Porcelain for Table Ware, Insulators, Decorative Ware.	30	——
Fukagawa Seiji Kabushikikaisha (Arita-machi) (Fukagawa Porcelain Co.)	Porcelain for Table Ware, Decorative Ware.	——	——
Nihon Kōshitsu Tōki Kabushikikaisha, (Kanazawa City; Fusan-fu) (Japan Hard Faience Co.)	Hard Faience for Table Ware.	300	——
Matsumura Kōshitsu Tōki Kabushikikaisha (Nagoya City) (Matsumura Hard Faience Co.)	Hard Faience for Table Ware.		
Fujimi-yaki Gōshikaisha (Nagoya City) (Fujimi Ware Co.)	Hard Faience for Wall Tiles.		
Tantō Kabushikikaisha (Awajishima) (Tantō Co.)	Hard Faience for Wall Tiles, Toys, etc.	150	——
Saji Tile Gōshikaisha (Nagoya City) (Saji Tile Co.)	Hard Faience for Wall Tiles.		
Osaka Yōgyo Kabushikikaisha, Branch. (Kyoto Suburb) (Osaka Ceramic Co.)	Hard Faience for Wall Tiles.		
Shinagawa Shiro Renga Kabushikikaisha (Tokyo Branch) (Shinagawa White Tile Co.)	Hard Faience Wall Tiles. Fire Bricks.		
Takayama Kōzan Kabushikikaisha (Kyoto City) (Takayama Kōzan Co.)	Chemical Stoneware, etc.	75	——
Ina Seitō Kabushikikaisha (Tokoname, Aichi Pref.) (Ina Pottery Co.)	Drain and water Pipes, Clinker Tiles, Terracotta.		
Iga Yōgyō Kabushikikaisha (Uyeno, Miye Pref.) (Iga Ceramic Co.)	Ceramic Wares for the building industry.		

The great majority of those mentioned above are equipped with complete machinery and tools, and engaged in the production of the various wares indicated. There are, however, some individual potteries having only a small capital, some of which complete the entire process in private workshops, and some of which undertake certain processes only, the work being divided among several.

4. PRESENT CONDITION.

We give below a general survey, viewed from the industrial standpoint, of the condition of each of the principal pottery districts, concluding with a brief review of artistic pottery.

AICHI PREFECTURE. There is no variety of ware which is not produced in this prefecture. As has already been observed, it forms the centre of our pottery industry, producing as it does more than one-half of the entire ceramic output of Japan. The Seto, Nagoya, and Tokoname regions constitute a sort of three-cornered competitive area, each corner having its own characteristics.

SETO (a pottery town with a population of 30,000, situated to the north-east of Nagoya, whence it may be reached by tram in an hour) is surrounded by a large number of potteries on a small scale, as may be seen from the following table:

SETO-MACHI.

Year	Number of Potters	Glost Fire Kilns	Workpeople		
			Male	Female	Total
1893	434	109	—	—	3,095
1924	659	(Wood firing) Slope kilns 61 Coal firing kilns 255	2,210	704	2,914
1926	720	Slope kilns 64 Coal firing kilns 343	2,600	718	3,318

AICHI PREFECTURE.

Year	Number of Potters	Glost Fire Kilns	Workpeople		
			Male	Female	Total
1920	1,631	556	14,060	4,769	18,829
1924	1,641	591	9,633	2,959	12,592
1926	1,948	940	11,787	4,661	16,448
1927	1,984	983	12,139	4,402	16,541

Already electric furnaces are coming into use for the overglaze decoration. The wares of these potters embrace all varieties except hard faience. For the "body" of the porcelain ware they mix feldspar and quartz with a plastic fire clay found in the neighbourhood. The tendency towards a division of labour is to be observed here of late, there being specialists for the mixing of "body," the shaping, and the making of the saggar. The present tendency is even towards specializing in firing.

NEIGHBOURHOOD OF NAGOYA CITY. The Japan Pottery Co. the largest factory of hard porcelain ware in Japan, is located here. Employing no less than 3,000 workmen, and using round kilns, it specializes in porcelain table ware for export. The Nagoya Pottery Co. also produces for export hard porcelain ware as well as sanitary ware. The Japan Insulator Co. produces high voltage insulators, sparking plugs, etc., having recently equipped itself with a Harlop's tunnel kiln. The Matsumura Hard Faience Co. turns out hard faience table ware; both the Fujimi Ware Co. and the Saji Tile Co. produce glazed white tiles, while the Nihon Kinyeki Kabushikikaisha (Japan Liquid-gold Co.) is producing liquid gold and liquid lustre. Moreover, a large number of small factories are scattered within as well as without the city, and are flourishing.

TOKONAME REGION. The district around Tokoname is the chief centre in Japan for producing drain and water pipes, clinker tiles, terracotta, stoneware for common use, roofing tiles, earthenware pipes, etc. For terracotta and ordinary earthenware there is the Ina Pottery Co., and for the manufacture of tiles there is the Japan Ceramic Co., etc. Within this prefecture, with this district for the centre, there are no less than 910 potteries engaged in the production of tiles and earthenware pipes alone. The annual output of this prefecture —to a value of ¥1,857,000 in 1926—represents, not only in value, but in quantity, more than one-half of the total national production of those articles, amounting in value to ¥3,553,000.

GIFU PREFECTURE. Extending to the three provinces of Toki, Kani and Ena, there are 1,600 potteries, though small in scale, engaged mainly in making soft porcelain common table ware. Not unlike Seto, the potteries there follow the principle of cheap mass production, and the material likewise consists of plastic clay, feldspar, and quartz. In the neighbourhood of the town of Tajimi tiles are produced by the Nihon Tile Kogyo Kabushikikaisha (Japan Tile Industrial Co.) and others. As to the method of manufacture, this district, likewise, is struggling to

minimize the cost of production by proceeding day by day towards a division of labour, replacing the hand gyratory potter's wheel by the jigger and jolly, and the wood-firing slope kilns by coal-firing kilns.

VICINITY OF KYOTO CITY. Being the ancient capital of Japan for more than one thousand years, Kyoto is one of the great centres of the industrial arts. As such, it is but natural that no small quantity of artistic pottery should be produced there. None the less, the majority of the potteries are occupied in making domestic ware and such industrial goods as high-voltage insulators, chemical porcelains, chemical stoneware, dental porcelain, etc. Of 350 potteries in Kyoto and its vicinity the greater number are on a small scale. There are, however, some large ones, such as the Shōfū Industrial Co. Ltd. for high-voltage insulators and chemical porcelains, and the Takayama Kōzan Co. for chemical stonewares. Kyoto pottery is known both at home and abroad for its excellent quality. It includes practically all varieties of table wares, excepting hard faience and hard porcelain. As for the material, decomposed liparite, which is mostly brought from other districts, is added to plastic clay and feldspar in making the "body" of the stoneware, and fire clay, agalmatolite, quartz, feldspar, etc., are used for the "body" of hard glazed earthenware and stoneware, together with ochre produced in the immediate vicinity. Except for those that are well-known, most of the potteries buy ready-made "body" clay from companies dealing in ceramic raw materials, and turn their ware with the hand gyratory or treadle potters' wheel, relying almost entirely on wood-firing slope kilns. In the suburbs of the city hard faience wall tiles are being made by the branch factory of the Osaka Yōgyō Kabushikikaisha (Osaka Ceramic Co.) and also by the Nakagawa Tile Seizosho (Nakagawa Tile Manufactory), and dental porcelain is produced by the Shōfū Tōshi Kabushikikaisha (Shōfū Porcelain Teeth Co.).

SAGA PREFECTURE. The first Japanese porcelain ware was produced in the neighbourhood of what is now known as Arita-machi. As the porcelain ware of that district was generally shipped from the port of Imari, it was commonly known as *Imari-yaki*. In various localities surrounding Arita as the centre porcelain ware is still being made. Though this mainly consists of pottery for domestic use and for home consumption, the underglaze blue-painted porcelain (*sometsuke*) predominates and is known for its quality of hardness. For the "body" these potteries were using decomposed liparite found in Arita known by the name of Izumiyama Stone, but

of late, on account of the deterioration of the material, they have come to use the Amakusa Stone of Kumamoto prefecture, as their chief material. Slope kilns are in common use here, and decoration with overglaze pigments is by no means uncommon. This method of decoration was first begun by Sakaida Kakiyemon of Nangawara. More than 200 potteries are actively engaged in the manufacture. While the Kōran Co. turns out table ware, decorative articles and insulators, and the Fukagawa Porcelain Manufacturing Co. produce articles of everyday use, there are others at work such as the Genroku-yaki Co., Aoki Porcelain Manufacturing Co., etc.

MIYE PREFECTURE. The pottery centre of this prefecture is Yokkaichi and its vicinity, which make sundry articles of hard faience, tea-sets of stoneware, toys, white wall tiles, etc. The products are now called "Taishō Banko," and the cheapness of this ware has won for it a great popularity. The work is carried on on a comparatively small scale, but the coal-firing kilns are being used in large numbers, with a gradual tendency towards division of labour. Following the technique of the old *Iga-yaki*, sundry articles of coarse stoneware are being made at Marubashira-mura, in Ayama-gun. The Iga Ceramic Co. at Ueno-machi makes terracotta, and the Kamiyama Pottery Co. at Sanagu produces exclusively hard glazed earthenware white wall tiles. There are about 200 potteries in this prefecture.

ISHIKAWA PREFECTURE. The commonly known *Kutani-yaki* is famous for over-glaze decoration porcelain. For the superior ware over-glaze transparent pigments are applied, and for the inferior ones the European over-glaze pigments are employed. Almost all the tea-sets, table ware, ornaments, decorative articles, etc., made there are for home consumption. The potters of the region embracing Enuma, Nomi, and Kanazawa carry on the business by home-work method, and the smallness of the scale may be gathered from the fact that there are no less than 620 potteries engaged in the annual production of wares valued at less than two and half million yen, as shown in the table already given. In the city of Kanazawa there exists the Japan Hard Faience Co., making hard faience for table use. With a branch factory at Fusan, Korea, it is equipped on a large scale, but its export business is dull now. Similar wares are made by the Kaga Pottery Manufactory in the vicinity of Terai, and sanitary ware and tiles are being made by the Komatsu Pottery Manufactory at Komatsu-machi. Though these places are provided with coal-firing kilns, most of the others are using wood-firing slope kilns and the old Japanese muffles

for over-glaze decoration. It is only in recent years that some new electric furnaces have come into use. For the "body," decomposed liparite, found in the neighbouring hilly districts, is used as the principal material.

OSAKA-FU. Except for the Osaka Pottery Co., situated at Sano-machi, there is hardly one that is of any considerable size. This prefecture produces mainly glass, enamel and refractories, but the firm above mentioned turns out high-voltage insulators and ceramic ware for the building trade. Together with the Japan Insulator Co. and the Shōfū Industrial Co., it is famous for its high-voltage insulators.

HYOGO PREFECTURE. In the southern part of Awaji Island there are the Tantō Co. and the Awaji Pottery Manufacturing Co., both producing hard faience white wall tiles, table ware, and decorative articles. In the vicinity of Izushi-machi there are produced sundry articles for home consumption in a white porcelain known as *Izushi-yaki*, and at Tachigui, in Tamba province, are produced non-glazed stoneware articles. The potteries within the prefecture number 260.

FUKUOKA PREFECTURE. In Kokura City there is the Oriental Pottery Co., a sister concern of the Japan Pottery Co., making table ware of hard porcelain, and sanitary ware as well as hard glazed earthenware. For the former, round kilns are used, and for the latter two Dresler's tunnel kilns, and their products are as good as European articles.

In the vicinity of Fukuoka City the *Takatori-yaki* still thrives, following its old tradition, and producing stoneware tea-sets and decorative articles. Besides, there are some potteries which manufacture chemical stoneware and a fairly large number are engaged in the production of earthenware Hakata dolls and toys. Scattered throughout the prefecture there are more than 200 potteries devoted to the production of these various kinds of ware.

NAGASAKI PREFECTURE. The principal pottery district of this prefecture comprises Hasami-mura, Mikawachi, and neighbourhood, being adjacent to the pottery district of the adjoining Saga prefecture. The porcelain ware produced there is for home consumption, and is known from olden times by the name of *Hirado-yaki*. There are 120 firms devoted to the pottery industry. The material is brought from the immediate neighbourhood and from Amakusa-jima. Wood-firing slope kilns still continue to be the principal feature, though there are several coal-firing kilns in use.

EHIME PREFECTURE. There are some 15 or 16 houses in Tobemura and Yamasaki-mura engaged in making porcelaineous table ware and a pale yellow porcelain decorative ware bearing the name of *Tobe-yaki,* which is exported to China and the South Seas.

SHIGA PREFECTURE. The *Shigaragi-yaki* is centred in Nagano-machi, turning out mainly large sized braziers of trepang-glazed stoneware. There are some 100 potteries within this prefecture, using only wood-firing slope kilns. There are also some in Shimoda-mura and Fugawa producing various rough stonewares. The annual output of the prefecture is about 1,400,000 yen.

FUKUSHIMA PREFECTURE. Low-voltage insulators and sundry articles in porcelain ware for domestic use are made at Hongo and known as *Aizu-yaki;* and stoneware tea-sets in a ware known as *Sōma-yaki,* which is centred in Nakamura. With some 100 potteries the annual output of this prefecture is about 75,000 yen.

SHIMANE PREFECTURE. Sundry wares of yellow faience known as *Izumo-yaki,* are made in the neighbourhood of Matsuye City, and stoneware jars are produced in the Masuda-machi region. With more than 100 potteries the annual production of the prefecture is valued at about 600,000 yen.

TOCHIGI PREFECTURE. Seventy-three potteries in this prefecture are engaged in producing some 460,000 yen worth of goods annually, comprising sundry articles of rough faience coming from Masuko-machi and stoneware acid pots from Nanao-machi.

IBARAKI PREFECTURE. Sundry articles in a brown-glazed stoneware are made in Kasama-machi, and more than 60 potteries within this prefecture produce about 180,000 yen worth annually.

TOKYO CITY. The amount of pottery produced in this great metropolis is very small, glass and enamel having a preponderance over it. There are the Torii Pottery at Mukōjima and the Ishikawa Pottery at Shinagawa. All in all, there are not more than 20 potteries producing not more than 130,000 yen worth of ceramic goods annually.

There are a few more prefectures not yet mentioned, and they may be summarized as follows:

KAGOSHIMA PREFECTURE. *Satsuma-yaki,* glazed earthenware, made at Kagoshima City and Ijūin-mura. *Tatsumonji-yaki,* stoneware, produced in the vicinity of Kajiki-machi.

OKAYAMA PREFECTURE. *Imbe-yaki,* stoneware, made at Imbe-machi.

YAMAGUCHI PREFECTURE. *Hagi-yaki,* glazed earthenware, made at Hagi-machi; stoneware acid pots in the neighbourhood of Onoda-machi.

In conclusion, a few words may be added concerning the artistic pottery of the country. A large number of potters are engaged in the production of the traditional artistic wares, headed by those of Kyoto, followed by those of Arita vicinity, Kanazawa region, Nagoya, Seto, etc. Among the prominent potters of Kyoto there are Kiyomizu Rokubei, Itō Tōzan, Mashimizu Zōroku, Kinkōzan, Uno Jinmatsu, Miyanaga Tōzan, Takahashi Seizan, Kawamura Seizan, and others too numerous to be mentioned here. Among artistic pottery producers in Arita vicinity, mention may be made of the Kōransha, the Fukagawa Porcelain Manufacturing Co., Sakaida Kakiyemon, the Genroku Yaki Co., Imaizumi Imayemon, etc. Among the prominent potters of Ishikawa prefecture are Ishino Ryuzan, Suda, Nakamura, etc.. The Komori Pottery Manufactory of Seto, Mori Shigeo of Miye prefecture, Makuzu Kōzan of Yokohama, Itaya Hazan and Numata Ichiga of Tokyo, and Okura Tōyen of Kabata, etc., are all engaged in the production of artistic pottery, each according to his or its own independent position. However, it behoves us to point out that over against the potters above mentioned, who are somewhat wedded to tradition, there exists a group of young ones whose work is out of the ordinary run, as, for example, Kawai Kanjiro and Kawai Unosuke, both of Kyoto, Tomimoto Kenkichi of Tokyo, Hamada Shoji of Masuko and others. In recent years they have played a conspicuous role among the makers of artistic pottery. Wares made by these young potters vary widely; some reveal pure Japanese taste, others betray Chinese or Korean influence, and still others show a European or Persian affinity, or an admixture of both. Thus all sorts of styles and artistic techniques are embraced, ranging from the gorgeous and minute to the free and bold, and resulting in an infinite variety of expression.

Glass Industries of Japan

BY

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JAPANESE FUNERAL RITES.

BY

ARTHUR HYDE LAY.

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Some Japanese archæologists affirm that in the earliest period of Japanese history no burial system obtained, but that the dead were merely conveyed away from the haunts of men into some desert place and there left to the mercy of the elements. In proof of their assertion they adduce the fact that no graves dating from a period prior to 700 B. C. have been discovered.

Be that as it may, the most ancient mode of disposing of the dead was, as far as we know, by burial. The ordinary Japanese word for "to bury" is *hōmuru*. It is a modified form of one of the oldest words in the language, being derived from the archaic verb *papuru*, "to bury," and stands as a proof of the antiquity of the custom of interment.

Various ceremonies were observed on the occasion of a death. The body was deposited in a *moya* 喪屋, or mourning-house, and left there until the preparations for permanent inhumation were completed. The obsequies of the deceased were performed for the space of seven days and seven nights, or eight days and eight nights, and during that period food and drink, fruit and any dainties which had been dear to the heart of the departed during his lifetime, were placed as oblations in the *moya*, and a fire, *niwabi* 庭火, was kindled and kept alight in

front of the building. Music also was played (the musical instruments consisting of a *shaku-byōshi*, a rudely constructed flute of bamboo, and a *koto* roughly put together, bowstrings being used as strings), and to the sound of melody the survivors trod slow measures, at the same time weeping and wailing and chanting the praises of the dead. The statements of Japanese history on this subject are to some extent corroborated by an old Chinese manuscript, entitled *Kanjo* 漢書, in which it is related that the Japanese observe the custom of leaving their dead in the mourning-house for fourteen days; that the surviving relatives give themselves up to sorrow, lamentation, and fasting till the time appointed for permanent burial arrives; and that they pay frequent visits to the *moya*, where they sing songs and go through slow and rhythmical dances.

Whether the mourning-house was at first simply the hut of the dead man, or a special structure erected for the reception of the body, is not explicitly known. The habit of abandoning the hut visited by death, prevalent among many of the native races of America and elsewhere, is said to have existed at one time in Japan. In such a case the natural conclusion is that the deserted house became the mourning-house. This hypothesis seems also to be borne out by the fact that the word *miya* signifies both 'palace' and 'temple.' The palace—in ancient times a mere hovel—would naturally acquire a sacred character when tenanted only by the dead, partly on account of the awe with which death is everywhere regarded, but more especially by reason of the deification of the Chief immediately after his decease. It was, however, customary from an early period to raise a special house to serve as a *moya*, for we read in Volume 1 of the *Kojiki* that when Amewaka Hito perished by his own arrow, his father, wife, and children at once built a mourning-house in the place where he was slain. The edifice was built of wood. Its pillars were merely planted in the ground and had no firm foundation, and the style of architecture resembled

closely that of the modern Shintō temple, which is but an adaptation of the old Japanese house. The exterior was hung with curtains of a white material, made from the paper mulberry. The body also was, shortly after death, clothed in garments of the same stuff, and identical in hue.

The musical performances referred to doubtless arose from the feeling, common to nations in a rude state, that the departed spirit might be induced by the charm of melody to return to its former tenement of clay. According to Japanese history, however, the custom dates from the time of Amaterasu no Kami. That goddess, so the legend runs, was so enchanted with the strains produced by Usume and other musicians that she opened the door of the cave into whose recesses she had retired in a pet, and allowed herself to be drawn forth into the presence of the other deities. Seeing, therefore, that music was so efficacious, its use in burial rites was established.

The head of the family superintended personally all the burial ceremonies of members of his household. He fixed the spot for the grave, settled the period of mourning, and conducted in person all the dances. The term *jisōsai* 自葬祭 was applied to such ancient burials.

The feelings of bereavement on the part of the survivors found expression in funeral laudations, called *shinobigoto* 誄. The lineage and deeds of the dead were sung and the songs of loss experienced set forth in words by a relative, generally the next of kin. An instance of the *shinobigoto*, in a somewhat developed form, may not be out of place here. In the 43rd year of the Emperor Keikō (A.D. 113) Yamatodake no Mikoto died. His wife and children in their sorrow composed four songs which were chanted at his funeral in Kawachi, and which for some time after were uttered at Imperial burials. Two of these dirges, the first of them composed by the widow, and the other by one of the sons, run as follows:—

(1) *Nazuki no* *Ta no inagara ni*
Inagara ni *Hahi motorofu*

Tokorozura.

In this form the August Lady likens her position of distress to the aimless convolutions of the tendrils of a vine growing in the midst of rice-stubble.

(2) *Asajinu hara* *Koshi nazumu*
Sora wa yukazu *Ashi yu yukuna.*

This song is an expression of the helplessness of the mourners, unable to follow the spirit in its flight through the sky, and compelled to remain on the ground.

The length of time during which the corpse was kept in the *moya* was gradually extended as preparations for burial became more elaborate, and, in the case of persons of very high rank, years sometimes elapsed before all was ready. The *Nihongi* 日本紀 tells us that the body of the Emperor Jimmu was detained in the mourning-house for the space of nineteen months; that of Emperor Suiko for eighteen months; those of the Emperors Ankō and Buretsu for three years; and so on. There is no recorded instance of a deceased Emperor having been actually buried within three months after death. The body seems to have been deposited in the earth enclosed by the *moya*, until the time for permanent interment arrived, when the remains were removed to the appointed place. During the interval between the temporary and final burial, varied and unceasing offerings of fruit and food were made, and music discoursed. Labourers were in the interim employed in constructing the coffin and funeral pile. The cortége, which accompanied the remains from their provisional shelter to their last resting-place, consisted of:—

A *kisarimochi*, (one bearing on his head the food to be presented), *hōkimochi*, (broom bearers), *mikebito* (cooks), *usume* (pounders of rice), *nakime* (hired mourners, generally of the female sex), *monomasa* (Superintendent of the funeral ceremonies) lantern bearers (it is imagined by some scholars that funerals used of old to take place during the night-time, as the idea of death was so repugnant to

the Japanese mind that as much secrecy as possible was observed in burying the dead), *watatsukuri*, (functionaries whose duty it was to assist at the ceremony); besides of course the bereaved relatives. The mourners carried with them to the grave *tamake* 玉筒, (bowls containing rice) and *gyoku-wan* 玉椀 (bowls holding water); and the rear-guard of the procession was formed by attendants waving aloft flags of blue, of red, and of white colours, and by musicians playing solemn music.

The use of wood in the construction of the coffin dates from a very early period. The story runs that Sosanoo no Mikoto, while making a progress through the country, arrived at a spot within the borders of the present province of Kii. Struck by the fertility of the locality, he gave orders that a quantity of *maki* trees (*Podocarpus macrophylla*) should be planted and that, when grown, they should be employed in the manufacture of coffins. Both the *Kojiki* and *Nihongi* mention this circumstance, and relate that wood was then for the first time used for such a purpose.

The use of stone as a material for the formation of coffins probably sprang up about the beginning of the Christian Era. In A.D. 3, at the demise of the Empress, her sorrowing spouse resolved to honor her remains by encasing them in a sarcophagus. In the same year the office of *Ishitsukuribe* 石作部, Stone Coffin Maker, was instituted, and a high official, entitled *Ishitsukuribe no Muraji*, appointed to superintend the work of the Imperial Stone-Carvers. It seems to have been the practice in some cases to first place the body within a wooden casket (*uchi-gwan* 內棺), which was then closed and laid in a larger receptacle of stone (*soto-gwan*).

In the *Goryōki* 御陵記 a description is given of the sarcophagi of several of the former Emperors, which have recently been exhumed. They were composed of plates of hard stone, and were of a considerable size. That of Chūai Tennō (A.D. 162-200), fashioned of large stone blocks, was nine feet long and three feet five inches in

breadth; while that of Kensō Tennō (A.D. 485-487) was fifteen feet long and four feet eight inches broad.

Anciently the formation of a grave was a very simple matter. A shallow hole was dug in the earth, the remains placed inside, and a small mound of earth thrown up on the top to mark the spot. This simple grave-heap developed by degrees into the earthen tumulus, which increased in size with the dignity of the deceased. Such tumuli were finally evolved into mounds partly of earth and partly of stone. Until the reign of the Emperor Kōgen (B.C. 214-158) funeral piles were thrown up on mountain sides. The Emperor Jimmu's burial place, for instance, is to be found on the North-West side of Mount Unebi, in Yamato. The tumulus erected in his honour is fifteen feet in height and three hundred and sixty in circumference. In the case of Emperor Kaika (B.C. 157-98), the custom of selecting a commanding position for the mound was departed from, and from his time tumuli were constructed either upon level ground or on an elevation. The last named Monarch is said to have introduced certain rules to be observed in forming Imperial tumuli.

The practice of constructing the memorial pile partly of stone arose about the same time that that material displaced wood in the manufacture of coffins. The idea, it is believed, originated with the Emperor Sujin, who about the year 70 B.C. caused stone to be brought from Ōsakayama in order to build a fitting mausoleum for his son. During the reign of the succeeding Sovereign the art of building cairns was much studied.

As regards the materials used and the manner in which they were put together, we gather from the *Shoryōshiki* 諸陵式 that a foundation was laid of small stones which were rendered cohesive by lime and then beaten into a compact mass and allowed to dry. Upon this basis was placed the stone receptacle, care being taken to lay the coffin in such a position that the head of the corpse should be towards the North; and above were laid three

or four large stone slabs. To complete the pile, gravel, sand, and earth were heaped up, until it had assumed the desired proportions, when the summit was rounded off symetrically. The tumuli were originally built in three tiers, and in circular form. Some of them, however, were not quite round, the portion facing the North—the quarter from which reverence was shown to the departed by friends visiting the spot—being cut square. Round the bases of the mounds, moats, from fifteen to twenty-five feet wide, were dug, and their summits were occasionally surmounted by trees. No rule existed to determine the size of and area covered by the tumuli, and they are consequently to be found of all sizes. As regards the objects buried along with the dead, earthenware alone has been discovered in mounds of the earliest period. With the gradual elaboration of the funeral piles, however, there arose the custom of placing within the cairns articles of value, which were either put inside the sarcophagus or covered by the earth at the side of it. *Kudatama* and *magatama* (stone ornaments curved and cylindrical in shape), *kingwan* and *ginkwan* (rings of gold and silver), pottery, coins, &c. have at various times been dug out of old mounds. In the time of Emperor Yūryaku (A.D. 459-479) no expense was spared in constructing sepulchres and much poverty was the result among the people, who, imitating the example of the Court, spent their money too freely upon tombs and on articles to deposit therein. This we learn from notifications issued in later times to check lavish expenditure of that sort.

The custom of immolating human beings to supply attendants for service in the future life was, according to the *Nihongi*, of ancient date. The wretched victims were buried up to the neck in the earth, and formed what was called *hitogaki* 人垣, that is to say, a human hedge, round the mausoleum. In the year 1, B.C. on the occasion of the interment of Prince Yamato Ḥiko, the number of persons sacrificed was larger than usual, and their shrieks and cries, while slowly dying a painful death, a prey to

hunger and at the mercy of birds of prey, reached the Emperor's ears and touched his heart. His pity for the miserable sufferers was excited to such a degree that he summoned all his high officers, expressed in their presence his gracious opinion as to the enormity of hurrying the living into the spirit world as attendants upon the dead, and concluded by soliciting their advice upon the matter. Thereupon, a courtier, Nome no Sukune by name, advanced and humbly requested leave to propound a scheme whereby the cruel and wanton sacrifice of human life might be abolished. He proposed to substitute for living men figures of clay and to set them up at sepulchres. His Majesty, delighted with the humane idea, immediately approved his plan, and proclaimed that earthen images were in future to be used, and that on no account must human life be taken on the occasion of a funeral. Nomi no Sukune was appointed Hanishi no Muraji 土師連, Chief of the Sculptors, and, during the remainder of his lifetime, acted as Superintendent of the skilled carvers whom he brought from his native province of Izumo. The office of Director of the Imperial funeral ceremonies was also filled by his descendants. The clay images of men, placed around graves, were styled *tsuchi-ningyō* 土偶. They were of all sizes. An image nine inches in height and two inches in breadth was, some time ago, discovered at Kakinuma, Hataragōri, Musashi; one dug up at Hiraiso-mura, Naragōri, Hitachi, was two feet long; and so on. Shortly after the introduction of Buddhism, the practice of arranging statues round a grave fell into disuse.

Festivals (*tamamatsuri* 靈祭), were held at fixed times for the dead, when all the people laid offerings of flowers, fruit, various other edibles, and wine, upon the graves of their deceased relatives and friends. These oblations were presented upon shallow dishes of red earthenware, called *hiraka* 平瓮. Accounts of the *tamamatsuri* are given in various old books. To cite an instance from the *Kojiki*:—after the death of Izanami no Kami, all the natives of Arima, in Kii, assembled and marched in a band, with flags

and music, to her tomb, where they presented fruit and flowers and sang dirges in her honour.

The custom of showing respect to the spirits of the departed by offerings of flowers and food developed into a permanent annual observance. In the twelfth month the husbandmen paid into the Imperial Treasury their dues of rice. The first-fruits of this tribute were dedicated to the Imperial Ancestors, and presented before their tombs with much pomp and ceremony. The common people also observed a similar festival on the ingathering of the rice crop, and set apart the first-fruits as an oblation to their ancestral manes. This practice, but in a much modified form, continues till this day.

The *ujigamisai* 氏神祭 was a festival designed to show honour to a particular ancestor. All the *ujibito*, those tracing descent from the *ujigami* or tutelary family god, assembled at the house of the head of the family. In a recess in one of the rooms a circle was formed of *sakaki* trees 榊, (*Cleyera Japonica*), from whose boughs were suspended strips of cloth. These sacred trees formed a *himorogi* 神籬 and the invoked deity was thought to descend upon the spot enclosed by them. Gifts were offered, accompained by laudatory addresses.

The introduction of a new religion cannot fail to exercise considerable influence upon the ceremonial institutions of a country. In the beginning of the sixth century Buddhism, which had some time previously been brought from China by way of Corea, found favour in the eyes of the reigning powers. At first it advanced slowly in popular esteem, and for several centuries its effect upon funeral ceremonies was not very marked; but from the ninth century onwards it may be looked upon as the chief religion of Japan, though it never entirely superseded Shintō.

The lavish expenditure upon tumuli and valuable articles buried with the dead, which began about the end of the fourth century, has been noticed before. Mausolea were erected at the cost of much money and labour, and precious

stones, swords, &c., were placed within, alongside of the dead. Into such an evil did the desire to show honour to the dead develop that, in many cases, death in a family meant the reduction of the family to poverty. This state of affairs reached a crisis about the time of the Emperor Jomei (A.D. 629-641). His Majesty set an example of extravagance to his subjects by directing that his exequies should be conducted on a scale of unprecedented magnificence. His *moya* was of such an imposing size that it acquired the designation of *taihin* 大殯. As a matter of course this pernicious example was followed by nobles and people alike, and widespread destitution was the result.

Emperor Kōtoku, grandson of the above mentioned Monarch, perceived the baneful effects of such useless and excessive expenditure, and directed his energies towards the eradication of the practice. The first step taken was to issue a notification forbidding the erection of a *moya* to persons other than those of Imperial rank. His Majesty then showed his determination to check with a high hand such uncalled for waste. He promulgated edicts, proclaiming that no man, be he prince or peasant, must exceed in the matter of expensive burials, but that each one must celebrate the obsequies of his dead in a manner proportionate to his rank and means. These stern measures had a certain, though not quite the desired effect. Ruin no longer followed upon the steps of death; but although the whole system of burial by degrees became more simple, notifications had again and again in later times to be directed against excessive outlay upon funerals.

About the year 670 A.D. stone coffins fell into disuse and the old wooden caskets were reverted to. This return to traditional custom was effected by the Emperor Tenchi. He considered that the construction of sarcophagi entailed too much loss of time, money, and labour, and so decreed that wood should be the material used in future.

The new coffins were on an average six feet by four feet and about two feet in height. They were more ornate

than the ancient wooden receptacles. Great care was bestowed upon their manufacture, and in some cases they were covered with a coating of lacquer. The interior was lined with cushions stuffed with vermilion and powdered charcoal, in order to prevent putrefaction and retain the body in a fixed position. Swords and other objects were placed within the casket.

The mausolea of that period were composed of large rough blocks of hard stone. In the centre a special chamber lined with lime was made for the coffin, and after the completion of the structure, the coffin was introduced through an aperture left in the side for that purpose. The hole was closed up by a large stone slab. Stone steps usually led up to this part of the pile. No rule fixing the location, shape, or size of cairns existed up till 695 A.D., in which year certain sepulchre regulations were issued. The tombs of persons of Imperial blood were alone to be fashioned of stone; while the tumuli of individuals, not of "the blood," but possessing titles not inferior to that of *Shōchi* 小智 were to be made of gravel. The common people were forbidden to construct a mausoleum of any kind. The plebeian dead were to be interred in the ground, and the earth thrown on the top of the grave was not to rise above the level of the ground. The spot was to be marked by a simple headstone (*sekihi* 石碑). It was decreed also that cemeteries (*maisōchi* 埋葬地), should be provided throughout the country, and that burial must be effected within the limits prescribed. The size of the grave and tombstone was to be regulated by the status of the deceased.

The following table shows the dimensions fixed for the sepulchres of persons of a certain social position :—

Dimensions of mausolea in the early part of the eighth century.

	Persons of Imperial Blood.	Jōshin 上臣	Kashin 下臣	Daijin 大仁 Shōjin 小仁	Dairei 大禮 Shōrei 小禮 Daichi 大智 Shōchi 小智
Internal length.	9 feet	9 feet	9 feet	9 feet	9 feet
Internal breadth.	5 feet	5 feet	5 feet	5 feet	5 feet
External dimensions.	Sq. of 9 *jin* 尋 i. e. about 39ft. by 36ft.	Sq. of 7 *jin* 尋 i. e. about 28ft. by 28ft.	Sq. of 5 *jin* 尋 i. e. about 20ft. by 20ft.	9 feet by 4 feet	9 feet by 4 feet
External height.	25 feet	15 feet	12ft. 6 in.	4 feet	4 feet
Number of Workmen employed.	1,000	500	250	100	50

In 702 A.D. the notification, forbidding the construction of a tumulus and enjoining burial in the ground and the raising of a simple memorial stone, was extended so as to include all persons below the rank of *Sammi* 三位 with a few specified exceptions. It was thus only with the beginning of the eighth century that headstones came into general use, though they had been employed some time previously in isolated cases. A gravestone had, as early as the year 460 A.D., been set up over the last resting-place of one Shōshibe no Sugaru, a mighty man of valour at the Court of Emperor Yūryaku. This warrior performed many wonderful feats, but the crowning action of his life, it is related, was to catch and make prisoner the thunder at the command of his Sovereign. For this marvellous deed the Emperor ordered that, on Sugaru's death, a

tombstone should be erected over his grave with the inscription, "*Kaminari wo toru Sugaru no haka nari*," 'this is the tomb of Sugaru, the thunder-catcher!' Several headstones of very old date remain until this day, among which may be cited those of the Funauji in Kawachi.

An Imperial Rescript was published A.D. 722, urging upon the people the advisability of having clear inscriptions put upon their family tombstones.

A great difference is observable between the ceremonies in vogue in connection with a funeral in high life during the latter part of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century. Further changes having been effected in the orders of nobility in the fourth year of the Emperor Temmu (686 A.D.), fresh rules were promulgated to regulate the funeral ceremonies of persons belonging to the old and new orders. To give an illustration:—the body of a Prince was not to be actually inhumed till two or three months had elapsed from the time of death, and the order observed in the funeral procession was to be as follows:—

Four men, styled *ai-kami-tachi* 共上立 formed the vanguard. They were immediately followed by twelve *sakinami* 先波, advance guard, four attendants, two abreast, all bearing flags (*tsuribata* 系旗), two hired mourners (*kanashimi-otoko* 悲夫), two more attendants with lanterns (*tōro* 燈籠), and two broom-bearers (*hōkimochi* 箒持). The cortége was brought up by the family and other relatives and friends. The best authorities differ as to what office the *ai-kami-tachi* filled, but it is probable that they bore the oblations to be presented at the tomb. As regards the flags, the front two were inscribed with the genealogical table of the mother and father of the deceased respectively, and upon the remaining two were written characters expressive of the virtues and heroic deeds of the dead.

Emperor Mommu in the year 700 A.D. created a new bureau in the Department of Etiquette and Ceremonies, (*Jibushō* 治部省), called the *Sōgishi* 葬儀司. This new office was entrusted with the supervision of the funerals of all who had attained to the rank of *Sammi* 三位 and

upwards. Strict rules were laid down regarding funereal matters, and a system of burial, which differed with the station of the deceased, elaborated. The following table taken from the *Mosō-ryō* 喪葬令 shows what observances were prescribed in the case of persons of certain ranks. Table giving the number and description of the articles used at certain funerals.

Name of Articles.	For persons of the rank of						
	Ippon 一品	Nihon 二品	Sambon 三品 Shihon 四品	Dajō-daijin 大政大臣	Sadaijin 左大臣 Udaijin 右大臣 Ichi-i 一位	Dai-nagon 大納言 Ni-i 二位	Sammi 三位
Hōshō 方相	one	one	one	one	one	one	none
Jusha 輴車	one	one	one	one	one	one	none
Drums Tsuzumi 鼓	100	80	60	140	80	60	40
Daikaku 大角	50	40	30	70	40	30	20
Shōkaku 小角	100	80	60	140	80	60	40
Hata 幡	400	350	300	500	350	300	200
Kinshō 金鉦	3	3	3	4	3	3	1
Gyōko 鐃鼓	3	3	3	4	3	3	1
Tate 楯	7	7	7	9	7	none	none
Hatsumo 發喪	3 days	3 days	3 days	5 days	3 days	3 days	1 day

By the above table is clearly shown the influence already exercised by Chinese usages at the Court, and we find the continental innovations side by side with the remnants of the customs "handed down from time immemorial." The new articles introduced demand explanation.

The *hōshō* or *hōshō-uji* was an attendant, arrayed in grotesque fashion, who led the way to the sepulchre, and was credited with the power to scare away evil spirits by his garb and gestures. He was clad in a black robe with red border, over which was thrown the skin of a bear. His face was concealed by a mask, square in shape, upon the front of which were fastened four large eyes of gold, two above and two below. In one hand he carried a shield; in the other he brandished a spear. Mention is made in an old Chinese Book, *Shūrai* 周禮, of the *hōshō-uji*, and it appears to have been an old custom in China to set this fantastic personage in the van of a funeral procession.

The *daikaku* was a sort of flute, while the *shōkaku* was a species of flageolette. *Kinshō* were gongs, and *gyōko* cymbals. The musicians were termed *asobibe* 遊部.

Hatsumo was the period of mourning.

The *Jusha* was an ornamental car, drawn by men, and used as the bier upon which the remains were conveyed to the tomb. The number of men employed in pulling this funeral car varied. A great many attendants seem at first to have been pressed into this service. Emperor Saga, who died A.D. 823, left behind him a writing in which he enjoined the practice of simplicity and economy in the observance of his funeral rites, and especially desired that his *jusha* should be drawn by only twelve men. In later times cattle were employed instead of human beings. A similar vehicle, which served the same purpose and was introduced from the mainland about the same time as the *jusha*, was the *koshi* 輿. The latter carriage was, however, not drawn, but borne upon the shoulders.

A regulation was also issued by the newly created Bureau (*Sōgishi*) determining the material of which the

cerements and the covering of the coffin were to be made. They were to be of white linen, in accordance with traditional custom.

A curious ceremony, in connection with the burial rites, which made its way to Japan about the beginning of the eighth century, was *monomasa* 尸者. The *monomasa* was in the old days an attendant who assisted at the clothing and placing of the body in its casket, but the term was in Mommu Tennō's reign applied to an observance, imported presumably from China, in which the heir or nearest relative assumed for a short time the character and acted the part of the deceased. He arrayed himself in the discarded garments of the dead, and meeting the relatives and guests, on their return from the funeral, at the threshold of the house owned or rented formerly by the departed, ushered them into the best room, set food and drink before them; and acted in all respects as if he were the being for whom the last sad offices had just been performed.

But the effect of Buddhistic influence was most apparent in the mode of disposing of the human clay. The old method of burial in the earth (*dosō* 土葬), was supplanted by the newer institutions of *kwasō* 火葬, cremation, *suisō* 水葬, casting the dead into the water, and *yasō* 野葬, burying in the wilds. Up till the year A.D. 701 the ancient system of disposing of the body by burial had obtained. In that year, however, cremation was first practised in Japan in the case of a Buddhist priest, one Dosho, whose body was, in accordance with his own expressed desire, burned at Kuribara, in Yamato. Two years later the Empress Jitō departed this life, and the Imperial body was cremated, owing to the influence of the priests at Court. From 703 A.D. till the year 1644 it was the invariable rule to cremate the remains of the Emperors; but in the last mentioned year, the popular outcry against the practice was sufficiently powerful to cause its abolition. After the custom of cremation had become fixed in the case of Imperial corpses, a Mikama-

tsukuri no Muraji 造御竈連 was appointed to superintend the erection of Imperial crematoria. His duty was also to be present when the body was placed in the furnace and to watch carefully the process of consumption, and finally to collect the august ashes and place them within the urn. Some Emperors, among whom may be mentioned Their Majesties Saga and Junna, were so zealous for Buddhism, and so eager to show their contempt for all that should remain of them after the extinction of life, that they gave orders that the very dust which should be left after their bodies had passed through the fire, should not be kept, but be scattered to the winds. The most notable instance of Imperial zeal for Buddhism was, however, exhibited by Emperor Shōmu, chiefly known to posterity as the builder of the Nara *Daibutsu*, who died A.D. 748. His last words were, "let me be carried to the tomb with such pomp and ceremony that the procession shall resemble a pageant in honor of Buddha;" and accordingly the people treated his body as if it had been a representation of Buddha himself; and most of the articlse used in the service of Shaka were borne along with it on its last journey.

It was not until the beginning of the ninth century that cremation was practised throughout the whole land. Previous to that time Buddhism had been almost exclusively the religion of the rich and well-born; Shintō had kept its place in the hearts of the people. In the year A.D. 800 a device, of a most politic nature, was adopted by the Buddhist priests, which bore great fruit in the vast increase of the adherents of Buddhism and the consequent decrease in the number of upholders of pure Shintō. Kūkai and others accepted and promulgated the doctrine that Shintō deities were merely transmigrations of Buddha, and thus succeeded in bringing into their fold many who, though regarding the new faith with favor, were unwilling to abandon *in toto* their old religion.

We now come to the other methods of disposing of the dead, namely *suisō* 水葬 and *yasō* 野葬, which were also

much followed in the eighth century. Those who cast their dead into the water placed them first in slight coffins, weighted with stone, which were dropped into the sea or river. When *ya-sō* was practised, the dead were sometimes placed in rude boxes, sometimes left without any covering other than their ordinary garments, and in that condition carried out to unfrequented places, and there laid upon the ground and abandoned. This neglect to provide decent burial is attributable to the teaching of the priests, who instilled into the minds of their converts contempt for the human clay after life had departed. The body was only worthy of honor, said they, while animated by the spirit. Out of this conception of the human body there sprang a tendency to treat with scant care those upon whom death had set his seal, but who were still in the land of the living. Sometimes, when a man was near his end, his kindred perceiving his hopeless condition, conveyed him from the domicile to a spot outside the town, and there gave him over to a death in solitude. In A.D. 809 a fierce epidemic visited Kyōto and the surrounding district, and claimed as its victims many thousands of men and woman. No attempt seems to have been made to cover up the plague stricken bodies; they lay piled up by the roadside, putrifying and transmitting the germs of disease to the survivors. An Imperial edict was consequently issued calling attention to the demands of decency and propriety in such matters, and incidentally giving expression to the opinion that the dead should be dealt with in a fitting manner, and put away out of sight. It was also decreed that public officers should travel from place to place throughout the country, seeing that the sick were properly cared for, and the dead treated with respect, as ancient custom demanded. A supplementary notification was promulgated by the *Dajōkwan* early in A.D. 814, forbidding farmers and others,—specially mentioning those of the *Gokinai*,—to cast forth the feeble and infirm and leave them alone to perish. This decree had the salutary effect of arresting the barbarous practice referred to above.

In addition to the change in the manner of disposing of the body,—which was not, however, universal,—another sign of the influence of Buddhism is to be found in the fashion which arose of keeping wooden memorial tablets, called *ihai* 位牌, upon which were inscribed the posthumous title conferred by the priests upon the believer immediately after death. The new name was called *okurina* 諡 in the case of persons of high rank; in other cases, *hōmyō* 法名 or *kaimyō* 戒名. For instance, Ō Yamato Neko Ame no Hiro no Hime no Mikoto became, after his demise, Jitō Tennō. With the bringing in of the *ihai*, Buddhist prayers took the place of the old *shinobigoto*.

From the eighth century it became the almost universal custom to set up *boshi* 墓誌, or monuments, to mark the position of the grave. These were of all shapes and sizes, and constructed of stone, copper, or other durable material. They bore inscriptions setting forth the name and rank of the deceased; and in some cases words were engraved upon the tablets, eulogistic of the dead. It was also usual to bury similar tablets of smaller size in the grave. When cremation took place, the lid of the urn containing the ashes had traced upon it characters of a like purport. The term *sekitō* 石塔 was originally applied only to memorial stones in the shape of a pagoda; the old word *sekihi* was used to designate all other gravestones. The *sotoba* 卒堵婆, a long narrow tablet of wood, bearing the name of the dead, and covered with passages from the Buddhist scriptures in the Sanscrit language, came into use also in the eighth century, and was set up near the graves of the faithful. It was supposed to be efficacious in expediting the passage of the spirit to its destination.

It had always been held by expounders of Shintō that sickness and death were defiling, and that whoever touched a corpse was rendered unclean. To this doctrine of the defilement engendered by contact with a dead body was added the belief that the mere presence of the dead in a house produced contamination. Certain ceremonies had

to be gone through before purification could be reached. Although these tenets had been entertained in a general way by good Shintōists, no fixed rule seems to have existed till the tenth century as regards the *kibuku* 忌服 or period of mourning, during which the relatives were considered unclean. It was only then that a regular system of mourning was instituted, according to which the period of impurity was determined in proportion to the degree of relationship existing between the mourner and the deceased. For periods varying from ten to fifty days after the demise, the near relatives, from the members of the family down to the nephews, nieces, and cousins were obliged to abstain from animal food and from sweet and savoury dishes, as if to show that grief had robbed them of all desire for dainties and even of their appetite for food. Mourning clothes of a dull colour were worn for about a year. Officials were supposed to absent themselves from their offices, and indeed originally kept pretty strictly to their duty in this respect, but in course of time so much inconvenience was caused by their absence that it became usual for a special order to be issued in each case, exempting the officer, on the plea of urgent public business. These mourning customs—or at least a modified form of them—still remain in force.

That an idea may be formed of the funeral processions in the early part of the middle ages, it is proposed to furnish two examples; one of a cortege conducting the Imperial remains to the crematorium, and the other of a *samurai's* fúneral train. The account of the former is taken from the *Gosōsōki* 御葬送記. Clothed in royal apparel, a head dress, *kammuri*, upon the head, and cinctured by a favorite sword, the august corpse of His Majesty the Emperor Shijō was placed in the coffin (A.D. 1243). When the receptacle, with its contents, was being carried to the place of dissolution, soldiers in armour led the way, followed by attendants, shod in straw sandals, and bearing torches. The car upon which the Imperial coffin rested was drawn by bulls and

occupied the centre of the train; and directly behind it marched the *Gonyūkwanyaku* (Director of a portion of the ceremonies), 御入棺役. The *kuge* and *denjōbito*, nobles and courtiers, with the Imperial guard, brought up the rear.

A soldier (*samurai*) was clad in his armour, had his sword girt about his waist, and was then laid in his casket. The coffin was transported to the grave upon shoulders of bearers, and escorted by numbers of former comrades of the deceased, and by attendants with torches and flags.

Feudalism, which inculcated the sacred nature of the obligations under which a servant lay to his master, and surrounded with much romance that relationship, was responsible for the revival of the custom of *junshi* 殉死, following one's lord into the next world. This, however, differed very much from the ancient cruel practice. While in the latter case it consisted in the wholesale and brutal destruction of human beings, without their consent, in the former it was a voluntary act, performed out of a desire to exhibit fealty in the highest degree. From the time when the abolition of *junshi* was brought about by the philanthropical courtier, Nomi no Sukune, till Hōjō Takatoki's day, that is to say for a space of nearly one thousand three hundred years, no single instance of *junshi* is recorded. On the death of the Shōgunate Minister just mentioned, a large number of retainers performed *otomobara*, i. e. committed *harakiri* in order to show their fidelity to their late Master. During the Ashikaga period isolated cases occurred of suicide on the part of faithful followers, deeply grieved by the departure of their lord. For instance, on the demise, in 1384, of Hosokawa Yoriyuki, the adviser of the young Shōgun, Yoshimitsu, Mishima Nyūdō Jōton, a retainer, took his own life. In the sixteenth century, however, it came more and more to be considered an honor for a man of rank to be accompanied in death by numbers of devoted followers, and such a form of suicide was looked upon by romantic individuals as the highest

exhibition of self-sacrifice. The practice, therefore, became somewhat common and many *daimyō* and others were followed to the land of the hereafter by their servants. On such occasions the number of retainers who commited *seppuku* ranged from fifteen to twenty two. Iyeyasu exerted his personal influence in order to put a stop to this infatuated self-destruction. He pointed out to his own immediate followers the folly of such acts, and sternly forbade them to descend to such foolishness on his death. This action on the part of the Conqueror of Sekigahara had the desired effect among his own following, but the evil did not diminish to any appreciable extent throughout the country. The *Bakufu*, therefore, found it necessary in 1664 to promulgate an edict denouncing *junshi* in the strongest terms and forbidding it under severe penalties. There were still found men, however, who clung fondly to the old institution and refused to abandon its practice. Such an one was Uemon no Hyōe, an officer in the service of Okudaira Tadamasa, who, when he heard of his master's death, defied the expressed wishes of the Shōgunate, and seizing his trusty sword, plunged it into his bowels, and so put an end to his existence. But the ruling powers were determined to effectually prevent future transgressions of a like nature, and showed their rigid determination by the measures taken in dealing with Uemon's nearest of kin. His family were deprived of their allowance, and removed from Utsunomiya to Yamagata, while two of his sons suffered the extreme penalty of death.

Another, but less violent manner of expressing grief at the loss of a loved Superior was by becoming a priest. On the death of the Emperor Nimmyō, one Yoshimine no Munesada gave up the world and took the sacerdotal vows. Some men merely shaved the head to show that, for the time being, they meant to refrain from the pleasures of life. According to the *Taikōki* 太閤記, Hideyoshi, when he heard of the murder of his Master, Nobunaga, before proceeding to vengeance, encamped

at Amagasaki, and there shaved his head, and in the *Toyotomi-kafu* 豐臣家譜 it is stated that on Hideyoshi's death, his followers, Nagamasa and Mitsunari, performed a similar act of respect. Widowed women also adopted the same outward signs of sorrow to show their sense of bereavement.

In the time of the early Tokugawa Shōguns the country was divided for religious purposes into parochial districts over each of which a *dannadera* 壇那寺, or parish Buddhist temple, presided. The priests had power in spiritual matters over their *danke* 壇家 or parishioners, and were entrusted with the funeral ceremonies in their respective charges. When a death occurred the fact was notified to the priest of the parish Church. On receipt of the tidings he, accompanied by one or two acolytes, repaired to the bereaved house and completed the necessary arrangements for the religious services. He also saw that the *ihai* was properly made, and decided what inscription should be written upon it.

The arrangements of a secular nature were carried out by the *Kōgumi* 講組 of the place. This *Kōgumi* was a Corporation, formed by the householders of a town or village, for mutual help. When any member of the Corporation, or the tenant of a house owned by a member of the Corporation, died, his family were required to inform the Society at once. On receipt of the intelligence, an officer was forthwith sent to the spot to examine the body, and report upon its condition. Kaempfer tells us that when Christianity had become an object of the deepest hatred to those who for the time being held the chief power, the officers appointed "sat on the body and viewed it narrowly to see whether there were any external signs of violence or marks of the Christian religion." The *Kōgumi* after satisfying themselves that death had resulted from natural causes, issued a certificate to that effect, and forwarded it to the Mayor of the place.

Twenty four hours after death the body was washed with warm water and the head shaved. The corpse was then

either dressed in a white cloth or wrapped in a paper shroud covered with Pali characters. This done, it was introduced into the coffin, a heavy chest of white wood, either square or round in shape, and placed in a sitting posture, the head between the knees. Such a position may be traced to the habit, practised by devout believers, of sitting rapt in religious meditation,—the object of the erect posture and shaven head thus being to impart a saintly appearance. The sides of the receptacle were lined with bags containing vermilion; poor people substituted tea for the more costly article. Over the top was spread a linen cloth, and the lid fastened down. A good deal of superstition prevailed as to lucky or unlucky days for cremation and interment, and geomancers were often employed to choose a propitious time. The day having been satisfactorily fixed, the coffin was conveyed to the best room in the house, where the relatives, friends, and priests were assembled. The officiating priest began the service by turning to the box enclosing the dead and proceeding to read portions of the Buddhistic sacred scriptures. After that he burnt incense, and the relatives in turn advanced to the side of the casket, burnt a small quantity of incense, made a low bow, and retired. Thus ended the service in the house. The procession was then formed and winded its way slowly to the temple or crematorium, (in some cases a special service was gone through in a temple, at other times the remains were taken direct to the crematorium). In the front were attendants, in double file, bearing the floral offerings of friends. More attendants, some of whom carried lanterns, others flags of paper or silk, followed. Upon one of the flags was inscribed the posthumous title, upon another verses from the writings held most in esteem by the sect to which deceased belonged; the remaining flags were the gifts of friends and, differing as to their inscriptions, formed, as it were, a catalogue of the dead man's virtues. The car which supported the coffin was shaded by an ornamental canopy, called the *tengai* 天蓋, and took its place

after the flagbearers. Directly behined the hearse walked the *moshu* 喪主, or chief mourner, apparelled in rough hempen garments, in his hand a bamboo staff meant to support him, as he was supposed to be so crushed by affliction as to be unable to walk without assistance. On his feet were straw sandals covered with white cloth. Near by was an attendant bearing the *ihai*. Four or five priests, each with an attendant, along with the relatives and friends followed. Last of all came servants bringing *dango* 團子, dumplings, impaled on spits, and cakes, which were afterwards distributed among the bystanders. Arrived at the cremation ground, the coffin with its contents was handed over to the official in charge, and a receipt taken, which had to be presented on the next day at the same time that the ashes were asked for. The guests and some of the priests returned to the house, where the latter again read selections from their sacred writings. The following morning they all proceeded once more to the crematorium, and having received the urn in which lay the ashes, betook themselves to the neighboring cemetery, where, after the sacred scriptures had again been recited, dust was returned to dust.

The *ihai* was carried back to the house and placed in the *butsudan* 佛壇, and flowers, &c., were presented in the morning and evening for some time after the death, and on anniversary days. The days specially set apart for offerings to the dead, and for the repetition of mass for their souls, began with the seventh day after death, and afterwards occurred at regular intervals of ten days, up till the seventy-seventh day. Further commemoration services were held on the hundredth day. The first anniversary of the death was a time for special services. Beyond that the third, seventh, thirteenth, seventeenth, twenty-third, twenty-seventh, thirty-third, thirty-seventh, and fiftieth anniversaries were selected upon which to call the departed to remembrance by offerings and prayers. It may be mentioned that the *ihai* or *reihai* took the place of the *himorogi* in 734 A.D.

The *bon* or *urabon* 于蘭盆 is a festival held for the souls of the dead, which was first observed in the year in which the *ihai* was introduced, although it was not till the time of the Shogunate that it was kept throughout the country. The word *ura* is from the Sanscrit, and being transliterated into Chinese characters reads 救倒懸, *kyū-tō-ken*, which means to care for and rescue the fallen. *Bon* is a Chinese word and signifies a tray for holding eatables; hence its meaning, in composition with *ura*, is "to give the hungry spirits food." The *urabon* is merely a Buddhistic adaptation of the old *tamamatsuri*. It is still one of the great annual festivals of the Japanese religious calendar, and is held on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of August (that is, according to the old style of reckoning in the 7th month from the 13th to the 15th days, inclusive). During that time the souls of the dead are supposed to return to their families. The rites are observed both in the house and at the grave, and are as follows:—

At home each family gets ready its best room for the ceremony. A clean rush mat is laid down in the alcove, and the *ihai* placed upon it. In front of the ancestral tablets are set up, along with vases of flowers, two bamboo vases—about a foot apart—each containing a section of bamboo. The pieces of bamboo are fastened together by a straw rope, and from this connecting strand depend various sorts of vegetables and fruit. Other articles of food are laid upon the *butsudan*.

These preparations are completed by the evening of the 28th, and that evening before supper the family approach the sacred shelf, light the *bombori* 雪洞, or lamps, which are hanging above the alcove, and go through their devotions.

The priests present themselves on the 29th, and 30th, burn incense before the *butsudan*, and read the lessons.

As regards the outdoor observances, the tombs are swept and cleared of moss on the 28th and vases of bamboo stuck in the ground in front of the memorial stone. A pole transversed near the top by a small piece of wood is

planted beside the grave. On the 28th the family repair to the cemetery after the evening meal, carrying with them flowers and water in a small hand-pail. They insert the flowers into the vases, fasten lanterns to the transverse piece of wood near the top of the pole, and light them. For three consecutive nights this routine is kept up. On the last night, that is the 30th, *okuribi* 送火, or fires whose light is supposed to illuminate the pathway of the "revenants" on their return to the spirit land, are lit among the tombs and upon neighboring hills.

In some parts of the country it was usual, in connection with the "feast of lanterns," for the townspeople or villagers to assemble in an open and convenient place, and there engage in dancing and singing. The dances were of a semi-religious character, and are said to have originated in the solemn dances which were in ancient times performed in the *moya*. The object was to give pleasure to the spirits revisiting their old haunts. The dances did not commence till well on in the evening, in order that the participants might have abundance of time to accomplish their *hakamairi* 墓參, i. e., pay their visit to the ancestral tombs. Men, women, and children, without distinction of sex or age, met, and joining hands, formed a circle, in the centre of which were the musicians. Many of the dancers tied up their heads with napkins and appeared in grotesque costume. Various dances were gone through and the proceedings kept up till a late hour. These dances (*bon-odori* 盆踊) were, however, put a stop to at the Restoration, they being deemed productive of immorality, and injurious to the public health.

A few remarks concerning the tombstones of the Tokugawa period are necessary before passing on to consider the results of the decay of the Shogunate power and the rise of Imperialism. The tombstones were of various shapes and sizes. In some cases a simple slab was used; in others an imposing structure formed, the base consisting of three layers of stone. Often the headstone rested upon

a foundation in the form of a tortoise. The gravestone was not, at the very soonest, put up before the forty-seventh day after burial, and it was usual to postpone its erection for a year. In the meantime a rude shed supported by four posts was run up over the last resting-place, and other offerings placed under this sheltering structure and renewed from time to time.

The movement in favour of the revival of pure Shintō, which in the course of time effected the disestablishment of Buddhism, took its rise about the end of the seventeenth century. During the peace which followed upon the establishment of the Tokugawa Government, men had plenty of leisure to engage in literary pursuits. Ancient Japanese literature was carefully studied, and as a result a desire sprang up to revert to the old ways and to the old-time religion. According to the teaching of the ancient sages the body of a man was one of "the most reverend phenomena under the sun," and, as the "temple where the hero-soul had once dwelt," was to be treated with respect and regarded even with awe. Moto-ori, Hirata, and others, expressed the opinion that if it were a crime to mutilate and commit to the flames the human body before life had become extinct, it was likewise and in the same degree wrong to burn the dead. Moreover, these learned men all advocated the advisability of a return to the old Japanese custom of *jisō*, holding that the head of each family should, without sacerdotal intervention, manage the funereal affairs of his own people.

The opposition thus excited against the leading religion of the country and its ceremonials, gradually gained strength until it swelled into a popular cry for the re-installment of Shintō in its former honourable position. The public feeling in favour of the old national religion contributed not a little to the revolution which led to the Emperor being re-invested with supreme power. When the Restoration was an accomplished fact, and Shintō in the ascendant, the first step taken was to disunite the Buddhist religion from the "Way of the Gods." As a natural result the

disestablishment of Buddhism followed in 1871, and Shintō was re-installed as the only State religion. The funeral ceremonies of the Imperial family and of the upper classes have therefore, from the beginning of the Meiji period, been conducted with Shintō rites. The bulk of the nation, —and in particular the country people, have, however, clung tenaciously to their old belief, and most of the burials among the middle and lower classes are still carried out with Buddhist rites.

The Buddhistic ceremonies on the occasion of a death having been already described, it is proposed to give a sketch of a Shintō funeral. The following details of the rites observed in the case of the burial of believers in Shintō are taken from the *Sōgishiki* 葬儀式, a book from the pen of the well-known Japanese archæologist, Kondō Naosuke. The ceremonies described,—and this remark applies equally to the Buddhistic rites of which a description has been furnished above—are such as would be performed on the death of a man of some position.

On the occasion of the death of a Shintō believer, the body is looked after by attendants whose first act is to clothe it in a new, or at any rate a clean robe, and cover it with a quilt. They place long narrow tables in the same room with the body, and upon them arrange bowls, filled with vegetables, salt, &c., cups of wine, and vases containing *sakaki* trees and flowers, besides various articles of which the deceased used to be fond. Near by stand sword racks, on which are hung *mamorigatana* 守刀, charmed swords, to keep away devils.

The members of the family, accompained sometimes by friends, visit the chamber of death every day until the funeral, and see that the flowers and edibles are continually replaced by fresh ones. On the day appointed for the last rites the relations assemble. The body, of which only a small portion is exposed at a time, is washed with hot water brought in a new pail, and applied with a new linen cloth. A difference, worthy of notice, exists between the

Shintō and Buddhistic modes of washing the dead. According to the former, the corpse is simply wiped with a moist napkin, the same gentleness being exhibited, as would be shown to a living man; while in the latter method, hot water is poured over and the corpse handled without overmuch ceremony. Moreover, as Shintō teaches reverence for the human clay, those employed in the cleansing do not divest themselves of their apparel. In some Buddhist sects on the other hand, the servants strip off their clothes before engaging in the work.

After these ablutions the body is gently lifted and transferred to another part of the room, where it is laid upon the top of a new suit of raiment spread out on a quilt. A pillow is placed under the head, and the face again washed tenderly with hot water, and covered with a clean linen napkin. The clothes previously worn are exchanged for these underneath, and straw sandals are placed on the feet.

The coffin, a *negwan* 寢棺, that is one in which the body reclines at full length, is then brought in, and shortly afterwards four of the relatives rise, and each raising a corner of the quilt, place it and its burden within the receptacle prepared. Clothes of a style suited to the social position once occupied by the departed are deposited along with him in the coffin. These garments often consist of *hō* 袍 and *hitatare* 直垂, both long loose gowns with wide sleeves, fastened at the waist by a girdle (they were formerly worn on state occasions); *kariginu* 狩衣 hunting-coat at one time used by nobles; *kammuri* 冠 and *eboshi* 烏帽子, black caps bound round the head with broad white fillets. Besides clothing, other articles are inserted, such as the *shaku* 笏, wooden tablets in ancient times employed as note-blocks, *chūkei* 中啓, fans, swords, *himo-gatana* 紐刀 and *wakizashi*, stilettos and daggers. In the case of women *hi-ōgi* 檜扇, fans, and looking-glasses are put in instead of swords. Over all is spread a clean quilt. The above articles may of course be varied, or any of them omitted, at will, but a general idea may be formed from

those enumerated of the things most generally introduced into the coffin.

The corners and other empty spaces in the coffin are filled up with cotton-wool, after which the lid is fastened on. The receptacle is raised and placed upon two small benches, one end resting upon each; and other benches, upon which rest wine, biscuits, salt, and water, are arranged in front.

The material at one time most generally used in the construction of wooden coffins was *maki* 槙, (*Podocarpus macrophylla*). This species of wood, however, not being so common as it once was, its place has been taken by wood of the pine (*matsu* 松), and *momi* 樅, (*Abies firma*). Stone is also occasionally employed even at the present day, and copper too has recently been made use of in one or two instances.

After the coffin has been closed up, the *senreishiki* 遷靈式, ceremony for the soul of the dead, is performed. Special preparations are made for this rite, which has for its object the detention of the spirit in the house. A stand about a foot and a half in height, covered with new straw matting and white silk, is set up near the coffin. This is called the *mitamadoko* 靈床, and serves as a platform for the *mitamaya* 靈屋, (abode of the spirit),—a wooden house roofed with shingles, and with folding doors,—to rest upon. Close by are the usual *sakaki* trees, supported in bamboo vases, with strips of white silk or paper depending from them, and inside the *mitamaya* is a smaller wooden structure, called the *mitamashiro* or *funashiro* 船代, specially designed as a resting place for the soul. A bowl containing salt dissolved in water is placed on the right side of the *mitamaya*, and on the left is laid a board, called the *kamiyori-ita* 神託板, upon which the spirit is supposed to descend ere it enters the house prepared for its reception.

At the right side of the spirit-house is an erection similar in shape to the *mitamadoko*, called the *haraidokoro* 祓所, or place for exorcising evil spirits. It is likewise

surrounded by *sakaki* trees, adorned with pendent silk ribbons.

The religious service is commenced by the officiating priest, who occupies the position of *harainushi* 祓主 or exorciser. He draws near to the *haraidokoro* and pronounces certain words adjuring evil spirits to depart. The onlookers all listen, and make humble obeisance at the close of his exorcism. Another priest then steps up and, seizing one of the branches of *sakaki*, waves it over the heads of people to purify the chamber and its inmates. This done, the *Saishu* 齋主, Director of the Ceremonies, opens the door of the spirit-house, takes out the *funashiro*, and deposits it upon an unoccupied bench in front of the coffin. One of sacerdotal assistants lifts up the bowl of saltwater and another the *kamiyori-ita*, and together they place their burdens upon the same bench with, and on either side of, the *funashiro*. The Shintō rituals appointed for such occasions are gone through, and in the meantime the spirit is supposed to have taken up its abode in the coffer prepared for it. The *funashiro* is replaced in the *mitamaya*, while solemn music is being played.

The *tamashizume no matsuri* 鎮靈祭, for the repose of the soul, is the next ceremony. The usual prayers, *tamashizume no norito*, are uttered, slow music is again discoursed, and fresh flowers and food are set before the *mitamaya*. The chief officiating priest goes up to the sacred erection, claps his hands four times, and with a bow, withdraws, and all present, from the master of the house, down to the guests, follow his example.

Still another rite, *shūsaishiki* 終祭式 remains to be observed before the funeral cortége sets out. The offerings of vegetables &c., are again renewed, and fresh *sakaki* trees up. The funeral oration is pronounced by the Director of Ceremonies, and more prayers are recited. Finally each mourner lays a branch of *sakaki*, with *tamagushi* 玉串, slips of paper attached, upon a small table, and, making a last bow, retires.

The ceremonies just described sometimes all take place in the same apartment, but at times the several rites occur in different chambers, when the coffin is carried from room to room.

After the procession has been formed outside, the coffin is carried out by attendants dressed in white. It may be mentioned that all the servants assisting at the funeral should be clothed in white garments. The *moshu* 喪主, chief male mourner and *mome* 喪婦, chief female mourner follow. A fire, *niwabi*, is lighted in the courtyard, and the train starts.

The order observed in the cortége is:—

Saki-oi 先追, men who go in front to clear the way; in certain cases the *saki-oi* are soldiers.

Two torch-bearers.

Two broom-bearers.

Zenyei 前衛, i. e., relatives or friends who march near the front to keep order.

Two servants, carrying between them a large *sakaki* tree.

Two *Yosoishi* 装束師, secular assistants at the various ceremonies.

Two flagbearers (a red flag at the right and a white one at the left).

Two more flagbearers (this time the red flag being at the left and the white at the right).

Karahitsu 辛櫃, a wooden box, with four legs, containing fruit, flowers, &c., with two bearers.

Chōsenshi 調饌師, attendants whose duty it is to look ofter the offerings, &c.

Musicians, two abreast.

Two flagbearers, with red and white flags at right and left.

Two other flagbearers, with flags in reversed position.

Imibe 齋部, priests next to the *fukusaishu* in rank.

Two relatives dressed in *kariginu*.

The *Fukusaishu* 副齋主, Vice-Director of Ceremonies, in ceremonial dress, with an attendant.

Two priests.

Two torchbearars.

One flagbearer, with *tsurihata* 系旗.

Relatives carrying artificial flowers.

Attendant bearing a small *sakaki* tree.

Mourners carrying bows, arrows, and swords, the women among them with halberts.

The coffin borne by four men on a bier, over which is a canopy; two mourners at each side.

The benches upon which the coffin rested while in the house.

Two priests.

The *Saishu* (Director of Ceremonies), with two servants.

Two priests.

Two relatives entrusted with the execution of certain necessary arrangements.

A servant carrying the temporary wooden *hakajirushi* 墓標, to mark the grave.

Two attendants with torches.

Four attendants with flags.

The *Moshu* } with male and female attendants.
The *Mome* }

Relatives and friends.

Two *ato-osae* 後押, men to bring up the rear; the *ato-osae* are in certain cases soldiers.

The procession slowly winds its way to the cemetery within whose precincts a shed, called *karimoya*, 假喪屋, has been erected for the temporary reception of the coffin. Here the advent of the cortége is awaited by attendants, who, on perceiving its approach, kindle a fire outside the temporary mourning-house.

The Director and Vice-Director of Ceremonies and principal mourners enter the *moya*, and cause the coffin to be laid on a table in the centre and the oblations, *hakajirushi*, *karahitsu*, &c. to be placed beside it. After the *sōshiki no matsuri* 葬祭式, which is identical with the *shūsaishiki* above described, has been concluded, burial is effected.

The coffin is carefully lowered into the open grave by eight men; sometimes *boshi* and *hakajirushi* are placed on the top, and earth is then thrown on. Great care is taken lest the mould should be cast roughly in and resound upon the chest. The mourners retire, and the grave-diggers fill up the hole afterwards, and place sward on the top. The *hakajirushi* inscribed with the name of deceased is put up to mark the spots pro tempore, and the small benches upon which are the various articles, such as *sakaki*, fruit, &c., brought from the house, are arraanged beside it. Round about a paling of bamboo with a small wooden gate is constructed. The flags are stuck up outside the fence, while inside, near the *hakajirushi*, are also lanterns which are lit every evening.

The relatives and priests who remained at home have, in the meantime, purified the house by prayers and other observances, among which is the scattering of salt and water upon the floor and at the entrance. When the mourners return, they are presented with water to wash their hands and rinse out their mouths, and salt is cast over them as a purifier. More prayers are uttered, and the company disperses. On the following morning the Chief mourner and others, accompanied by the Director or Vice-Director of Ceremonies, proceed to the grave and offer flowers and pay their respects. Certain dates are fixed upon which homage should be paid to the ancestral *Manes*. During the first year after death the tenth, twentieth, thirtieth, fortieth, fiftieth, sixtieth, ninetieth, and hundredth days are set apart for that purpose. The first anniversary is an important memorial day and after that the appointed days are the third, fifth, tenth, twentieth, thirtieth, fortieth, fiftieth, and hundredth anniversaries. Besides twice a year, in Spring and Autumn, there are festivals for the general worship of ancestors. These festivals are also observed by the Court in honour of the Imperial ancestors, and are called *Shunki-kōreisai* 春季皇靈祭, and *Shūki-kō-reisai* 秋季皇靈祭.

The scale upon which a Shintō funeral is conducted

differs of course with the rank of the deceased. In the case of a believer among the lowest classes the rites observed are naturally of a very meagre description.

The memorial stone (*sekihi*) is generally put up before the hundredth day festival. On the front of it are engraved the official rank and name of the dead, and on the back the name of father and mother, and date of death. In some cases instead of the ordinary tombstone, a *hokora* 祠, or small shrine of stone is set up.

During the past thirty years Christianity has made considerable progress in Japan, and all the restrictions under which it formerly laboured have been withdrawn. At present the number of its adherents is comparatively small, but it is an ever-increasing power in the country. It is interesting to examine the latest obtainable statistics of the deaths occurring throughout Japan during the space of a year, and discover how the dead are apportioned between the three Communions, Shintō, Buddhism, and Christianity. The whole number of deaths annually amount to 754,000. Of these Shintoists contribute about 224,500 souls, Buddhists about 526,500; while about 3,000 Christians of all denominations die each year in Japan. From these figures we can learn how many funerals are annually conducted according to the rites of the three rival religions.

The burial grounds, which are generally some distance out of town, are public property and persons are buried irrespective of religious tenets. Up till 1875 many burials were effected in the immediate vicinity of dwelling-houses, a state of affairs productive of much danger to health. In that year, therefore, intramural interment was forbidden by law, unless cremation had first taken place, and burial within several hundred yards of human habitations strictly prohibited.

Cremation was abolished by proclamation in July 1873, as those administering the Government objected to it on the score of its barbarity, and regarded it with disfavour as being neither an ancient custom, nor a practice common among Western Nations. An outcry arose in some

quarters against this peremptory measure. Influenced by the feeling in favor of the repeal of this enactment, and also actuated by a consideration of the benefits of cremation in the case of persons dying of infectious diseases, the Government withdrew the prohibition in 1875. Cremation is now to a great extent conducted upon the most improved European methods. The process is simple. The body having been delivered over to the crematorium authorities, is taken charge of by the *ombō* 御坊, the officer whose duty it is to burn the dead, and placed by him in a furnace surrounded by lighted wood and charcoal. In about two hours nothing is left but ashes and a few bones. The remains, which weigh about four pounds, are placed in a cinerary and handed over to the proper person on production of the check issued when the body was brought. The charges for cremation vary in different places. The usual fees are, 1st class style, from $ 1.75 to $ 7; 2nd class, from $ 1.50 to $ 4.50; 3rd class, from 75 cents to $ 3. The crematoria are substantial buildings, and are as a rule situated in outlying districts. In Tōkyō there are five large crematoria, at Higurashi, Kameido, Kirigaya, Kami-ochiai, and Ogi-shinden.

The arrangements for funerals are entrusted to *Sōgiya* 葬儀屋 or Undertakers, who contract to provide for a small fee all the articles required both in the case of Buddhist and Shintō burials. Their sign-boards bear the advertisement "*Shinbutsu Sōgu Chōshindokoro*" 神佛葬具調進所, "articles necessary for Buddhist and Shintō funerals furnished."

"*Kairyō*" is the order of the day in Japan; and in Tōkyō and other large cities there are *Sōgi Kairyō Kaisha* 葬儀改良會社, which among other things aim at uniformity, and strive to provide dresses and other articles necessary on such occasions, all of the latest and most convenient style. They perform the business of undertakers, and furnish everything required to carry out a funeral properly. The probability is that in the course of time funerals will be executed on the same general plan.

As to the funeral ceremonies of the future, they will of course depend upon the respective places taken by the three religions at present striving for mastery in the country. Everything, however, seems to point unmistakably to the conclusion that Christianity, or at least a form of it, influenced perhaps to some extent by Shintō and Buddhism, will be the future faith of Japan.

奥村利信筆

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HANA-AWASE.

BY

MAJOR-GENERAL H. SPENCER PALMER, R.E.

(Read 13th May, 1891.)

Card-playing seems to have prevailed in Japan for about 300 years, and to have been introduced by the Spaniards or the Portuguese. The very name of cards, "*Karuta*," is not a true Japanese word, but one adopted from abroad, probably from the Spanish or Portuguese *cartas*. But, though card-playing is of foreign origin, neither the games now played nor the cards themselves are of distinctly foreign complexion. As with art, religion, and other cults, derived originally from alien sources, the Japanese have stamped their own individuality on their cards and card-games, which, indeed, in their present forms differ from those of all other peoples. The earliest form of game was played, it is said, with cards much like modern foreign cards, and was called *Unzui-karuta*. From this was developed a very different form of cards and play, called *Mekuri-karuta*, the former being now extinct, and the *Mekuri-karuta* surviving only among the lowest classes. Griffis, in his *The Mikado's Empire*, mentions six Japanese card-games, namely, *Tōkaidō Gojū-san Tsugi*, *Iroha-garuta*, *Hyakunin-Isshu-garuta*, *Kokin-garuta*, *Genji-garuta*, and *Shi-garuta;* and briefly describes the first three. *Genji-garuta* was till lately the popular game among the upper classes, especially

the ladies, and it still survives in some conservative quarters. But it is a dull game, occupying a position in card-playing comparable to that of the *Nō* among dances. The other two, namely, the *Kokin-garuta* and *Shi-garuta*, are of a similar type, and are almost extinct. Griffis, however, makes no mention of the really fine game, called *Hana-awase*, *i. e.*, "Pairing or Matching of Flowers," which, though nearly always played for money, is the fashion of to-day. The cause of his omission is obvious: the game at that time was so little known.* Gambling, always, as now, forbidden by law, was till quite lately discountenanced by the upper classes. The public sale of cards for *Hana-awase* was prohibited, and, except perhaps at the New Year, the game itself was rarely played by respectable people, being only indulged in, secretly, by the lower orders. Since Griffis wrote, however—in fact, within the last ten years—a great change has taken place. *Hana-awase*, no longer confined to dark corners, has come to circulate in decent company. The restrictions on the sale of the cards have been gradually relaxed; and, though gambling is still as illicit as ever, the game has grown so steadily and quickly in popularity that it is now the universal rage, and is played in all circles of society wherever a few Japanese are gathered together with nothing particular to do.† Most of

* Of the origin of *Hana-awase* little more is known than that it came in between 150 and 200 years ago. Its development is obscure, from the fact that, as a gambling game, it was prohibited. *Unzui-karuta* and *Mekuri-karuta*, also played for money, were interdicted games. Then, it is said, some ingenious person devised the game of *Hana-awase*, and sought to cloak its real character by the pretence that it was a game for children, aimed at combining with amusement some instruction in flower-lore, &c.—a flimsy stratagem which of course was soon detected.

† There is a diversity of opinion as to the cause of the modern spread of the game. Some hold that with the advent of foreigners, among whom card-playing for money is so fashionable, an example was set to which the better classes of the Japanese took kindly enough. Ano-

those of us who have mixed at all freely with our Japanese friends, on their travels or in their houses and clubs, have looked on with wondering interest at the game. And I think I may venture to say that no spectator who has ever thus looked on has succeeded, without special instruction or study, in gathering any but the faintest clue to its mysteries, or to the extraordinary fascination it exercises over its devotees. Convinced for my own part, by eyewitness and by the assurances of players, that *Hana-awase* was entitled to a high place among games of cards, I lately ventured to attempt a mastery of its details. In this effort I should, of course, have been helpless without the assistance of Japanese friends. And I have specially to point out to the Society that whatever success may be claimed for the exposition of *Hana-awase* in this paper must stand mainly to the credit of my friends Messrs. M. Yokoyama and Tsuneta Mori, the former one of the finest players in Japan, and the author of the best existing handbook of the game.

Hana-awase is played with 48 cards, composed of 12 suits of 4 cards each. These suits are named and decorated after the several kinds of flowers and other vegetation which, except in the last two cases, are usually associated by the Japanese with the months of the year—as follows:

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ther view, recently propounded by a vernacular journal, is that many men who have now come to hold leading positions in official and business life, having been educated in the immoral school of the unquiet times of the Restoration, and being unable to conceal their original character, yield in consequence to their inconquerable passion for the pastimes of their youth, and are followed and encouraged by swarms of heedless young disciples. Some authorities, again, believe that, while both of these influences may, perhaps, have contributed in some degree to the present prevalence of the game, the truer and greater causes are the abolition of caste, along with the freer intermixture of the better classes with persons of inferior grade, which have come in the train of the new order of things.

Matsu .....Pine (January).
Ume .....Plum (February).
Sakura .....Cherry (March).
Fuji .....Wistaria (April).
Ayame[1] .....Iris (May).
Botan .....Tree-Peony (June).
Hagi .....Lespedeza (July).
Susuki[2] .....Eularia Japonica (August).
Kiku .....Chrysanthemum (September).
Momiji .....Maple (October).
Yanagi[3] .....Willow (November).
Kiri .....Pawlonia (December).

Like their pipes, tea-pots, and many other things, the playing-cards of the Japanese are of small dimensions, being, in fact, barely 2 inches (1.85 in.) long, and slightly over an inch (1.10 in.) wide. They are made of a thin mill-board, about as thick as the modern Western playing-card. This is covered at the back with plain paper, usually black or of some shade of red or brown, folded over the edges so as to form a narrow border to the face of the card, which is decorated in colours on a white ground. The decorations are, as aforesaid, representative of the twelve names. Common cards, printed in colours, may be bought at from a few *sen* to a *yen* per pack. The illustration at the end of this paper shows the standard styles of decoration. But the finest kinds are painted by

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1 Sometimes called *Kakitsubata* (a larger species of Iris than the *Ayame*), but more often, for brevity, *Negi* (onion), to which the conventional decoration bears some resemblance.

2 Commonly called, for simplicity, either *Bōzu* (priest), or *No* (field), both of them names suggested by the decoration.

3 Commonly called *Ame* (rain), or *Shigure* (dull or drizzling autumn weather). There is no special connection between November and the willow. The decoration, however, refers to the story of the poet Ono no Tōfū, watching, on a rainy day, a frog's patient and ultimately successful efforts to jump up on to a willow branch; the moral of the story being, like that of Bruce's climbing spider, that "patience and perseverance gain the day."

hand, and may be of any price up to several *yen*. In these, though the recognised colours and styles must be adhered to, the details are left to the artist's taste, often with the happiest effect. As a rule, the greater the face-value of any card the more highly it is decorated, as by deer under the trees, birds on the branches, flying wild-geese, and so on.

I now proceed to give the names and values of the several cards, observing that henceforward in this paper the popular names as indicated in the foregoing foot-notes, namely, *Negi*, *Bōzu*, and *Shigure*, will be adopted for the *Ayame*, *Susuki*, and *Yanagi* suits, respectively.

The Shikō-mono. First in value are the four *Hikari*, or "Brilliants," called collectively *Shikō-mono* (group of four), namely, the commanding cards of the *Matsu*, *Sakura*, *Bōzu*, and *Kiri* suits. These are more highly decorated than the rest, the Rising Sun and Crane (*Hinode-ni-tsuru*), the Cherry Blossoms in a Palace garden* (*Goten-zakura*), the Field with the Rising Moon (*Ōno-ni-tsuki*), and the Phœnix (*Kiri-ni-hōwō*) being added, respectively, to the decorations proper to the suits, and thus bearing out the designation Brilliant.

The Shigure. After the Brilliants comes the commanding card of the *Shigure* suit, which is commonly called *Ō-Ame*. This, though equal in value to a Brilliant (namely, 20 points, or chips of value 1 each) for counting up the cards in hand at the end of a round, has no other property of a Brilliant, and has only the value of 1 for

* A *Maku* (curtain, or screen) figures conspicuously in the decoration of the *Sakura* Brilliant, and its employment as a Brilliant symbol is referred by some to a feature of feudal times. When the nobles and barons, on their hunting excursions, paused for refreshment or rest, the attendants would enclose a space for the purpose by a *Maku*, commonly of bright hues, contrasting so gaily with the more sombre tints of the forest as to form a brilliant spot of colour in the landscape. Another view is that it is derived from the habit of using the *Maku* at spring picnics, when people go to see the cherry-blossoms, the two—*Maku* and flowers—producing together a very brilliant effect. Gorgeous *Maku* were also used in one at least of the old Court dances.

combination with other cards in the *Teyaku*, or "value of hand," to be presently described.

The Tō-mono. To the *Ō-Ame* succeed the commanding cards of the *Ume*, *Fuji*, *Negi*, *Botan*, *Hagi*, *Kiku*, and *Momiji* suits, and the second cards of the *Bōzu* and *Shigure* suits—nine in all, each having the value 10 points, except that for the *Teyaku* the *Shigure* second card counts as 1 only. These nine cards are called, collectively, the *Tō-mono*, or otherwise the *Iki-mono* (living creatures), birds or other creatures figuring in their decorations.

The Tanzaku-mono. Next, ten cards, called *Tanzaku* (collectively, the *Tanzaku-mono*), distinguished by their having across the decoration a wide band representing a strip of the thick paper (*tanzaku*) on which poetry is usually written. They are the second cards of the first seven and the ninth and tenth suits, and the third card of the *Shigure* suit. Their value is 5 points each, except that for the *Teyaku* the *Shigure Tanzaku* counts as 1 only. In the *Botan*, *Kiku*, and *Momiji* suits, the *Tanzaku* is coloured blue. In the other seven suits it is red.

The Kasu-mono. The 24 remaining cards, namely, the last two of the first ten suits, the fourth of the *Shigure*, and the second, third and fourth of the *Kiri*, have the value 1 each, and are called *Kasu-mono*.*

It will be observed from the above that the peculiarity of the *Shigure* suit is that, while its four cards have the face-values, respectively, of 20, 10, 5 and 1 for the ordinary count-up of players' cards in hand at the end of a round, all of them count only as *Kasu-mono* for the *Teyaku*. In the other eleven suits there is no such distinction, though, as will appear farther on, certain *combinations* of Brilliants and *Tanzaku*, called *Dekiyaku*, have special values in the play. The face-values of the 48 cards may be seen at a glance in the following Table, in which the *Shikō-mono* are distinguished by asterisks.

* "Trash" or "refuse."

TABLE I.

Suit.	Values of cards, in points.				Total.
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	
Matsu	20*	5	1	1	27
Ume	10	5	1	1	17
Sakura	20*	5	1	1	27
Fuji	10	5	1	1	17
Negi	10	5	1	1	17
Botan	10	5	1	1	17
Hagi	10	5	1	1	17
Bōzu	20*	10	1	1	32
Kiku	10	5	1	1	17
Momiji	10	5	1	1	17
Shigure	20	10	5	1	36
Kiri	20*	1	1	1	23
				Gross Total	264

As many as seven persons may sit down to the game, but of these only three may actually come into the play on any one deal, the rest sitting out, under arrangements to be presently described. Each *player* plays against the other players, *i. e.*, plays his own game. To place the deal at beginning, two cards are dealt to each sitter, and he whose pair has the highest value (reckoned as by the Table above) deals. The dealer shuffles, the sitter on his right cuts, and the deal goes round from the right towards the left—the wrong way as we should say—*i. e.*, it begins with the sitter on the dealer's right. The sitter on the dealer's left acts as "pony," and shuffles the spare pack for the

next deal. If there are not more than six sitters, four consecutive cards are given (face down) to each person, and the next three cards are turned up on the middle of the table: then three more to each person, and three more turned up on the table, making a total of 7 in each hand, and 6, called *Bafuda*, on the table, which serve as pool-cards. Then, each person in turn, until three have come in, has to declare whether he will play or pay forfeit. Declaration begins with the dealer, and the system of forfeits is rather complicated, depending in amount on the quality of the *Bafuda*, as well as on the order of the sitter's seat in the game taken in conjunction with the number of sitters. For the former there are three classes, namely, (1) *Koba*, *i.e.*, a *Bafuda* without a Brilliant; (2) *Ōba*, *i.e.*, a *Bafuda* containing one or more of the first three Brilliants; and (3) *Zettai*, *i.e.*, a *Bafuda* containing the *Ō-Ame* or the *Kiri* Brilliant, or both. The latter is progressive according to the sitter's distance from the dealer, who, as aforesaid, is the first to declare. When, for example, there are three sitters only, with a *Koba* turned up in the *Bafuda*, the dealer, if he decline to play, has to put up 2 chips or points into the pool. If No. 2 decline to play, he must put up 4 chips, no matter whether the dealer has come in or not. If No. 3 decline to play, either or both of the others having come in, he puts up 6 chips. If all three, or any two, come in, the game proceeds; but, if two refuse, the third takes their forfeits, and the deal passes to him. With an *Ōba* turned up, the forfeits, in order as above, are 8, 10, and 12 chips. With *Zettai* turned up, they are 12, 18, and 24 chips. For four sitters, the forfeits, in the three cases of *Koba*, *Ōba*, and *Zettai*, are, respectively, in the order of seats (beginning as before with the dealer), 3, 4, 5, 6; 6, 8, 10, 12; and 10, 15, 20, 25 chips. For five sitters they are 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; 4, 6, 8, 10, 12; and 5, 10, 15, 20, 25 chips. For six sitters they are 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6; 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12; and 5, 10, 15, 20, 25, 30 chips.

It is necessary to diverge here for a moment, to explain

the special rules that prevail when there are seven sitters. In this case, the seventh man is not dealt to in the ordinary deal,* but has to wait till the six before him have declared. The hands abandoned by any three or more of these are then gathered and shuffled, and from them the dealer gives seven cards to No. 7. (Hands abandoned are not exposed). With seven sitters, the dealer is exempt from forfeits for renouncing. These begin with No. 2, and proceed at the rates indicated above for six sitters. No. 2, in fact, becomes for the moment the dealer for a table of six sitters, as far as forfeits for renouncing are concerned.

When there are more than three sitters, another complication comes in, three only being allowed to play. Suppose, for example, that, of 5 sitters, the dealer and No. 2 declare to play, so that only one more can come in. No. 3 may not do this without negotiating with Nos. 4 and 5. If he wish to play, he enquires from them the values of their hands, *i. e.*, the number of points that each will accept as a condition of not coming in. The price thus claimed depends on the system of counting for the *Teyaku* and *Dekiyaku*, to be presently described.† If No. 4, for instance, declares his hand to be worth 9 chips, and No. 5 claims 12 chips, No. 3 has to consider whether it is better for him to pay his forfeit, whatever it may be, and go out of the game, or to pay up 21 chips (or such less number as he may beat them down to) to Nos. 4 and 5 for going out and letting him come in. If he adopt the latter course, the dealer and No. 2 have each to pay a similar number of chips to Nos. 4 and 5. If the former, No. 4 is at liberty to negotiate with No. 5, subject to the same conditions as above.

From the foregoing explanations it is easy to see what takes place for all other ordinary cases of players coming into or staying out of the game. Broadly, the rule is that, until three players have come in, any one renouncing

* Because six sitters, with the pool, exhaust the pack of 48 cards.

† It is, half the value in points of any *Teyaku* in the hand, *plus* 3 points for each *Dekiyaku* card in the hand.

must pay his due forfeit; and that, with more than three sitters, if there be any one or more sitting after the one who wishes to become third player, negotiation must be resorted to for that third place, in the manner above described, any person (or persons) that may be bought off receiving his price from each of the three who stay in. The exceptional case is when there are seven sitters. Then, if three of the first six (No. 6 not being one of them) have come into the game before No. 7 receives his cards, No. 7, though he cannot in this case come in after getting his cards, has, nevertheless, to be treated with for staying out (if his hand be of any value), in the manner already explained, and to receive the value of his hand from each of the three players. If, however, No. 6 be the last of three who have entered, No. 7 may enter in his place if No. 6 prefers paying forfeit to giving No. 7 his price.

Any bought-out person is exempt from paying forfeit; and of course any person who elects to pay forfeit may go out. If all but one of the sitters go out, the remaining one takes all the forfeits and the next deal. But, whenever any two, or three, hands are played, the player who has the highest card-score at the end of the play—reckoned as by the values in Table I, except in certain special cases (*Dekiyaku*) hereinafter mentioned— takes all the forfeits. The *Teyaku* and *Dekiyaku* of bought-out hands must be shown after the bargain is made.

We now come to the *Teyaku*, or "value of hand," already referred to, which, as will be seen, is a complicated business. Before the play begins, each player has to declare whether he holds a *Teyaku*—*i. e.*, any one of twelve particular classes of hands—or a combination of any two *Teyaku*. The names, descriptions, and values in *Kwanki* (*i. e.*, chips of 12 points each) of the ordinary *Teyaku* are given in Table II hereafter. It is to be borne in mind that, for every case of *Teyaku*, the four cards of the *Shigure* suit are regarded as *Kasu-mono* only.

TABLE II.

Name.	Description.	Value in *Kwanki*.
Aka	Any two or more *Tanzaku*, and the rest *Kasu-mono*.	1
Tan-ichi	One *Tanzaku* and six *Kasu-mono*.	2
Tō-ichi	One of the *Tō-mono* and six *Kasu-mono*.	2
Karasu	Seven *Kasu-mono*.	3
Sam-bon	Any three cards of any suit.	1
Hikari-ichi	One *Brilliant* and six *Kasu-mono*.	2
Kuttsuki	Three pairs (*i. e.*, any two cards of any the same suit) of three different suits, and any card of any other suit.	3
Hane-ken	Any three cards of any suit, and any two cards of each of two other suits.	5
Futa-sambon	Any three cards of each of two suits, and any card of a different suit.	5
Te-shi	Any four cards of any suit, and any other three cards.	5
Ichi-ni-shi	Any four cards of any suit, with any two of another suit, and any card of a different suit.	7
Shisō	Any four cards of any suit, with any three of any other suit.	10

The first four of the above *Teyaku* are called *Nukeyaku* (from *nukeru*, to exceed), as, under circumstances to be explained farther on, the holders receive certain chips by way of bonus.

The following are the possible combinations of *Teyaku*, with their values in *Kwanki*, the latter being the sums of the aforesaid values of the various components:

DOUBLE TEYAKU.

Aka and *Sam-bon*	Value 2	*Kwanki*
Tan-ichi and *Sam-bon*	3	,,
Hikari-ichi and *Sam-bon*	3	,,
Tō-ichi and *Sam-bon*	3	,,
Karasu and *Sam-bon*	4	,,
Aka and *Kuttsuki*	4	,,
Tan-ichi and *Kuttsuki*	5	,,
Hikari-ichi and *Kuttsuki*	5	,,
Tō-ichi and *Kuttsuki*	5	,,
Karasu and *Kuttsuki*	6	,,
Aka and *Hane-ken*	6	,,
Tan-ichi and *Hane-ken*	7	,,
Hikari-ichi and *Hane-ken*	7	,,
Tō-ichi and *Hane-ken*	7	,,
Karasu and *Hane-ken*	8	,,
Aka and *Te-shi*	6	,,
Tan-ichi and *Te-shi*	7	,,
Hikari-ichi and *Te-shi*	7	,,
Tō-ichi and *Te-shi*	7	,,
Karasu and *Te-shi*	8	,,
Aka and *Ichi-ni-shi*	8	,,
Tan-ichi and *Ichi-ni-shi*	9	,,
Hikari-ichi and *Ichi-ni-shi*	9	,,
Tō-ichi and *Ichi-ni-shi*	9	,,
Karasu and *Ichi-ni-shi*	10	,,
Tan-ichi and *Shisō*	12	,,
Hikari-ichi and *Shisō*	12	,,
Tō-ichi and *Shisō*	12	,,
Karasu and *Shisō*	13	,,

It will be seen that for each of the last four hands it is necessary* to hold the whole *Shigure* suit; that there can be only 9 cases of *Tan-ichi* and *Shisō;* only 4 of *Hikari-ichi* and *Shisō;* 8 cases of *Tō-ichi* and *Shisō;* and but a single case of *Karasu* and *Shisō*, namely, the four *Shigure* cards, along with the last three *Kiri* cards.

If a player hold either *Aka*, *Tan-ichi*, *Tō-ichi*, *Hikari-ichi*, or *Sam-bon*, or any combination of these, he is not required to expose them on declaring, but he must call out, as he plays them, the cards which compose his *Teyaku*, so that his original declaration may be checked by his opponents. He also marks his *Teyaku* on declaring, by placing chips before him on the table, in the following forms:

For *Aka* .....One chip..... o
,, *Tan-ichi* .....two chips, thus ..... oo
,, *Tō-ichi* .....two ,, ,, ... o o
,, *Hikari-ichi* .....four ,, ,, ... oo oo
,, *Sam-bon* .....three ,, ,, ...ooo

Similarly for any combinations of the above.

For all other *Teyaku*, single or double, all of the cards composing them have to be exposed, face upwards, before the declarant, except in the case of a double *Teyaku* containing one of the above five, when the cards composing that one need not be exposed.

To return to the play. This, after all the *Teyaku* have been declared, and marked or exposed as above, begins with the player who came in first, called the *Oya* (father), passing next to the second, the *Dōni*, or middle player, and from him to the *Biki*, or last; and so on to the *Oya* again. Before beginning, any undealt cards are shuffled up with those of the renounced hands by the *Biki*, then cut by the *Dōni*,

* Except in one case of *Hikari-ichi* and *Shisō*, which is satisfied by holding the whole *Kiri* suit and any three cards of the *Shigure* suit.

and placed in the middle of the table. In playing, the object is to use some card in your own hand to pair with another in the *Bafuda*, selecting from the latter, of course, the card of the greatest value to yourself. A pair for the purpose means any two cards of the same suit; and any pair thus made becomes the player's property. If any card in the *Bafuda*, or pool, belongs to a suit of which you hold the other three (or one only if the other pair be already made), obviously that card must fall to you eventually, and it is a waste of opportunity to capture it as long as you can make any other pair. If unable to make a pair when his turn comes to play, the player discards to the pool-cards, from his hand, the card which he considers of the least use to him. After making one pair, or discarding as above, he turns up the top card from the pack on the table; and, if he can pair again with that, the pair so made also becomes his property. If he cannot pair with it, it is left face-up in the pool. The turn then passes to the next player, and so on till all the 48 cards have been paired and captured.* Obviously, each player's object is to capture the cards which will give him the highest score (always remembering that the values for this part of the game are those given in Table I), and also to aim at securing any one of the following four series, termed, collectively, *Dekiyaku* (which may be rendered "realized value"), namely,

(1) The four Brilliants and the *Ō-Ame*.
(2) The four Brilliants.
(3) The *Tanzaku* of the *Matsu*, *Ume* and *Sakura* suits.
(4) The three Blue *Tanzaku*, *i. e.*, those of the *Botan*, *Kiku*, and *Momiji* suits.

* Except when only two players have come into the game. In this case, 14 cards of the pack will remain unturned, and there will nearly always be some left in the pool which the players have not been able to pair before the exhaustion of their hands.

If any player secure any of these combinations, further play of the hand ceases, and a fresh deal is begun, each of the other players meanwhile paying to the lucky gainer of the *Dekiyaku* 10 *Kwanki* for the first case given above, 8 for the second, and 5 for either of the other two cases; and all other counting, the *Teyaku* excepted, being abolished. The winner also takes the forfeits for renunciation. When no *Dekiyaku* is secured, each player counts up the value of all the cards in his possession at the end, according to the numerical values shown in Table I. Every point over 88 (*i. e.*, $\frac{264}{3}$) is to his credit; every point under 88 to his debit. Thus, if players A, B, C, score respectively 47, 80, and 137, A loses 41, B loses 8, and C wins 49 (*i. e.*, 137—88). The settlement for *Teyaku* is made at the same time. For this, the player, if any, who had the most valuable *Teyaku* (single or double) in his original hand receives from each of his opponents the difference of value between their *Teyaku* and his own, or the whole value of the latter from any player who had no original *Teyaku*. The holder, if any, of the second-best *Teyaku* receives similarly from the worst hand. Thus, in the example already given, if A had *Sam-bon* (1 *Kwanki*, or "*Kwan*"), B *Kuttsuki* (3 *Kwan*), and C *Te-shi* (5 *Kwan*), C would receive 4 *Kwan* for his *Teyaku* from A, and 2 *Kwan* from B, and B would receive 2 *Kwan* from A, the final figures thus becoming, A—113, B—8, C+121. But, if any player, having had originally any one of the *Nukeyaku*, make more than 88 in his ordinary score, thus exceeding the average, he receives 1 extra *Kwan* from each of the other players. For example, let A have had *Sam-bon* (1 *Kwan*), B *Aka* (1 *Kwan*), and C *Karasu* (3 *Kwan*), A making 100 points in the ordinary score, B 80 points, and C 84 points. Then, A, having exceeded 88, receives 1 extra *Kwan* from each of the others, and the final scores become,

Player.	*Teyaku* settlement.	Ordinary score.	For A's exceeding 88.	Total.
A	−24 to C	+12	From B+12 ,, C+12	+12
B	−24 to C	− 8	To A−12	−44
C	+24 from A +24 ,, B	− 4	To A−12	+32

Should two holders of *Nukeyaku* each score more than 88, each receives 1 extra *Kwan* from the third player.

On the other hand, if both of two players, having held *Nukeyaku*, fail to reach 88 in their ordinary scores, the third having held no *Nukeyaku*, they forfeit 2 *Kwan* each to the latter player. Points thus forfeited are called *Fukkeshi-no-hōbi*. For example, if A, having held *Aka* (1 *Kwan*), make 64 in his ordinary score, while B, having held *Tō-ichi* (2 *Kwan*), makes 77 in his ordinary score, and C, having held no *Nukeyaku* (nor even any *Teyaku* in the example given), makes 123, the net scores are,

Player.	*Teyaku* account.	*Fukkeshi-no-hōbi.*	Ordinary score.	Total.
A	+12 from C −12 to B	−24 to C	−24	−48
B	+12 from A +24 ,, C	−24 to C	−11	+ 1
C	−12 to A −24 ,, B	+24 from A +24 ,, B	+35	+47

Should it happen, however, that one of the two holders of *Nukeyaku* scores exactly 88, he pays no *Fukkeshi-no-hōbi*. If there are only two players, each holding *Nukeyaku*, he who makes the higher score, whatever its amount, receives 1 extra *Kwan* from the other. Or if, of two players, one holding *Nukeyaku* make a higher score than his opponent not having *Nukeyaku*, he also receives 1 extra *Kwan*.

There are, further, three extraordinary cases which affect the payments, namely,

(1) The *Sō-ippai*, when each player of three has an ordinary score of 88 ($=\frac{264}{3}$), in which rare case the *Oya* receives 8 *Kwan* from each of the other two.

(2) The *Hachijū-hachi-no-kachi*, when one player of three makes 176 ($=2\times88$), or more, in his ordinary score, in which case also each opponent pays him 8 *Kwan*.

(3) The *Su-jū-roku*, when one player of three has 16 or more *Kasu-mono*, in which case also he receives 8 *Kwan* from each opponent. The first three cards of the *Shigure* suit, however, are not allowed to count as *Kasu-mono* for the *Su-jū-roku*.

In these three cases, the winner receives, besides, from each of his opponents the full value of any *Teyaku* he may have held in his hand, without crediting them with the values of any *Teyaku* they may have held. The two losers, however, settle their *Teyaku* account *vis-à-vis* one another. The winner takes also the forfeits of any sitters who have renounced.

After the whole settlement on any deal, the deal passes to the player, if any, who made *Dekiyaku;* or, otherwise, to him who made the greatest score by cards, calculated according to the values in Table I. Twelve deals constitute a game.

Counters are of two kinds, namely, *Kwanki* (briefly, *Kwan*), which, as already explained, have the value 12 points each, and others, called "chips" herein, of the value 1 point each. *Go-ishi* are commonly used, the black

as *Kwanki*. Each deal in the game is marked up with a white chip before the actual play on that deal begins, *i. e.*, when it has been decided who are coming in to the play. If there be any forfeits, the chip is taken therefrom. If, there be only three sitters, all of whom come in, the chip is contributed by the *Oya*. If there be more than three sitters, but no forfeits, the last incomer, *i. e.*, he who buys the third entry, contributes the chip. There being 12 deals in a game, the 12 chips thus used, called collectively *Banko*, make just one *Kwan*, and become the property of the highest winner at the end of the game. At starting, each sitter receives 7 *Kwan*, usually 5 black counters and 24 white, but is *responsible* for 10 *Kwan*, the additional 3 *Kwan*, being in the nature of game points, and going to swell the winner's gains. The money settlement is made thus: at the end of the game, each sitter having less than 10 *Kwan* has to buy from the winner or winners as many *Kwan* as, with the number in his possession, will make up 10 *Kwan*. Some curious results come out of this system. Take the case of four sitters, for example, only one of whom has more than 10 *Kwan*, and is, therefore, the chief and only winner. There are 28 *Kwan* on the table, the *Banko*, which belongs to the winner, included. But 30 *Kwan* have to be produced by the other three, as a result of which, the winner after selling all of his counters, is entitled to sell two *imaginary Kwan* in addition. Similarly, it will be seen that, with five sitters of whom only one wins, the winner sells 5 imaginary *Kwan;* with six sitters he sells 8 *Kwan*, and with seven sitters 11 *Kwan*. With only three sitters, on the other hand, the *Banko* has no value to the winner, because, out of the 21 *Kwan* on the table, only 20 have to be produced by the remaining sitters to settle their account. The winner's gain, in fact, in this case is exactly the number of *Kwan* in his possession, the *Banko* not included. There

may of course, in any of the above cases, be more than one winner. Then, though the minor winner or winners sell all surplus *Kwan* above 10 to the losers, the chief winner only has the right to sell the imaginary *Kwan*. It may also happen that there are two chief winners of equal amounts. In that case, the *Banko* and the sale of imaginary *Kwan* are divided between them.

Players running short of counters during the game may buy from others or have a fresh issue, an acknowledgment being given in either case. Such purchases are always to the extent of 10 *Kwan*, and called *Kai-kwan*, and are duly dealt with in the final settlement.

From the foregoing description it will be seen that *Hana-awase* is a fine game, bristling with difficulties, and full of interest. Evidently it embodies the features of all first-class games of cards, demanding from the player long training, a good memory, good judgment, skill in calculating chances, and great readiness in counting; and is affected by the element of luck to about the same extent as the best of Western card-games. Japanese as familiar with Poker as with *Hana-awase* declare that the latter surpasses the former as a game of chance and skill combined. Certainly, the remarkable fascination it exercises over its adherents gives striking evidence of its quality, and that evidence will hardly be shaken by the particulars collected here. Lastly, those who may have attended to this paper can scarcely have failed to notice the prevalence of the number 12 and its multiples in the system of counting. Every value of the *Teyaku* and its combinations is divisible by 12, as also are the values of the *Dekiyaku*, and of the payments in extraordinary cases. The number of cards is 48, the number of deals in a game is 12, and the sum of the values in Table I is 22 times 12. This prevalence of dozens, though supposed by some to be suggestive of a foreign source, would rather seem to result merely from the fact that the basis of the

whole game is a dozen, namely, the twelve months of the year. The Japanese year was divided into twelve months long before the introduction of *Hana-awase*, and there does not seem to be any *primâ facie* reason why the game should not be of purely Japanese invention. Possibly some antiquarian versed in card-lore may know enough of the games played by Spaniards and Portuguese two centuries ago to throw light upon this part of the subject.

MATSU (JANUARY).

BRILLIANT

TANZAKUMONO

KASUMONO

KASUMONO

UME (FEBRUARY).

TOMONO

TANZAKUMONO

KASUMONO

KASUMONO

SAKURA (MARCH).

BRILLIANT

TANZAKUMONO

KASUMONO

KASUMONO

FUJI (APRIL).

TOMONO

TANZAKUMONO

KASUMONO

KASUMONO

AYAME, or NEGI (MAY).

TOMONO

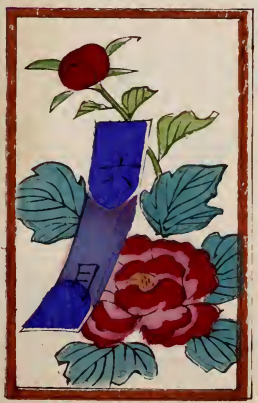
TANZAKUMONO

KASUMONO

KASUMONO

BOTAN (JUNE).

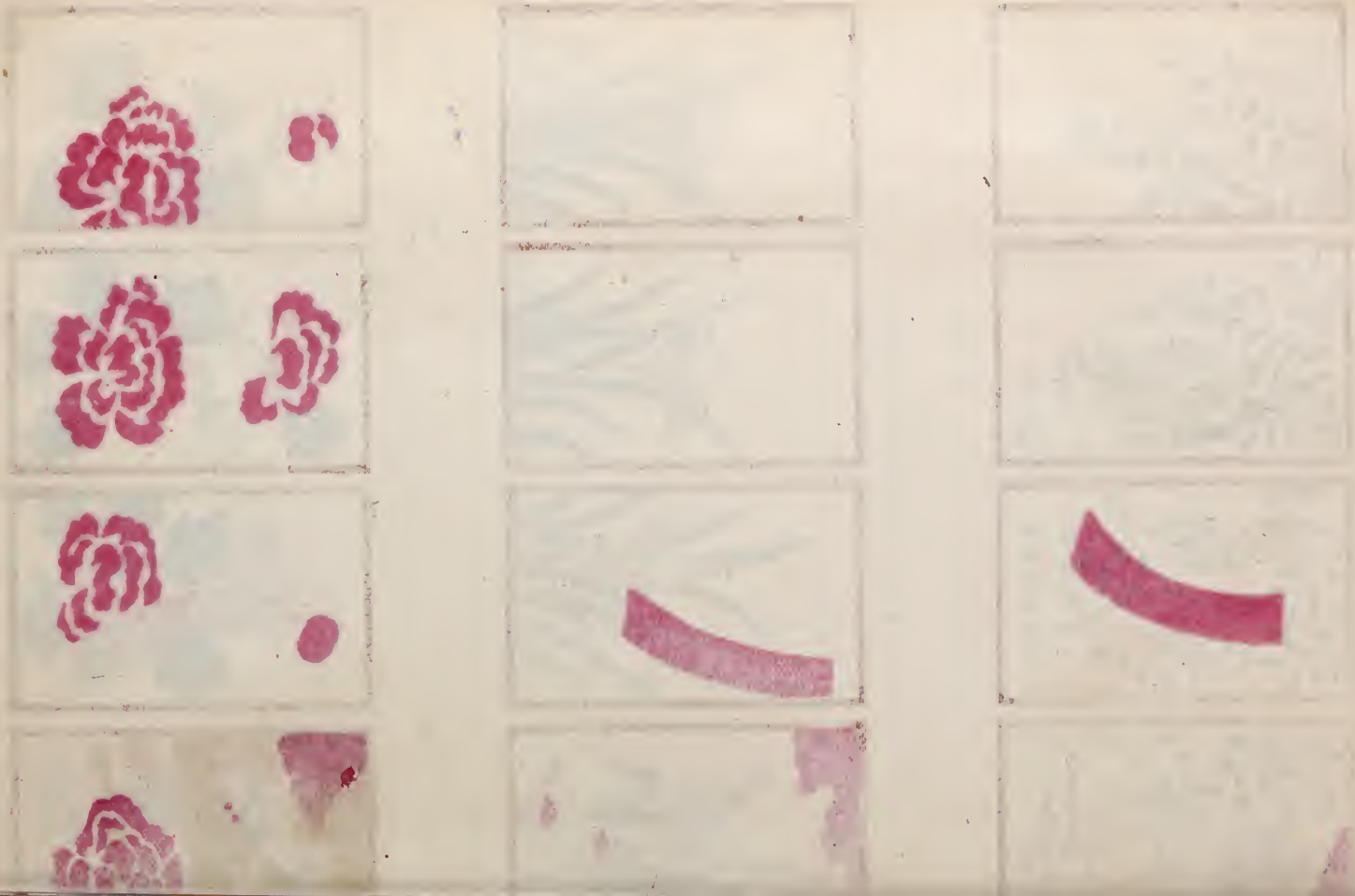
TOMONO



TANZAKUMONO

KASUMONO

KASUMONO



HAGI (JULY).

TOMONO

TANZAKUMONO

KASUMONO

KASUMONO

SUSUKI, or BOZU (AUGUST).

BRILLIANT

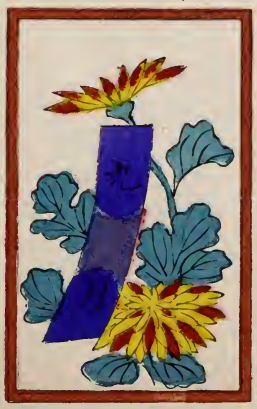
TOMONO

KASUMONO

KASUMONO

KIKU (SEPTEMBER).

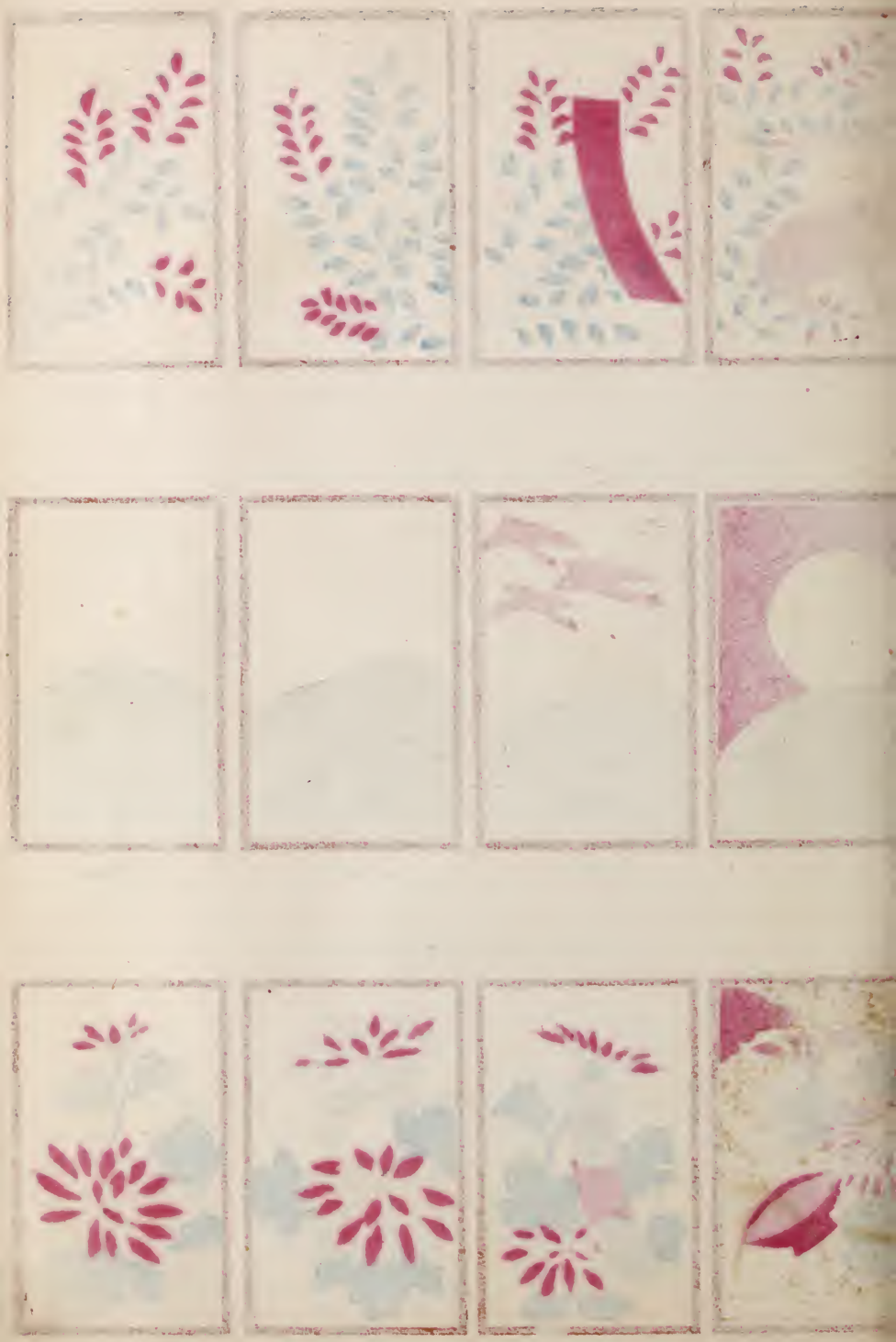
TOMONO



TANZAKUMONO

KASUMONO

KASUMONO



MOMIJI (OCTOBER).

TOMONO | TANZAKUMONO | KASUMONO | KASUMONO

YANAGI, or SHIGURE (NOVEMBER).

O AME | TOMONO | TANZAKUMONO | KASUMONO

KIRI (DECEMBER).

BRILLIANT | KASUMONO | KASUMONO | KASUMONO

CHAPTER VIII

...ION OF IKEBANA

...s of Ikebana. outline of the ...ns, in the case completed as art, vessel, etc. Ob- ... on the whole designs, each of

... as the unit ...anged in a vase. ...ng:

...ith one ...taining to this ...kebana. By ... left, it produces various

...osed with two groups of the plant ...nd form. We

394.4
S271
#5

URES ON IKEBANA

By

SŌCHŌ SAITŌ

Translated into English

by

MITSUE OKADA

DESIGN

I told you in the preceding chapter the com
Now I have found out the necessity of telli
designs of the art to you. The design of Ikebana
an arrangement is composed, or for the purpose it is
the disposition or assortment of the plant material,
serving what has been hitherto practised, we may h
the distinctions of (1) Flat, (2) Solid, and (3) Synthetic
which is divided into various cases.

1.

Flat design

In the flat design, one arrangement is to be reg
of design. It is the case in which plants are flatly a
We have three kinds of the flat design like the follow

(a) Single form.

An arrangement of this form is composed in one
group of plants. Ordinary arrangements are all app
form, and it is the most principal, fundamental form
varying in front and in the rear, right and
kinds of complex design.

(b) Compound form.

When an arrangement is comp
material in a vessel, it is called a work of the compou
have two cases of the form: (i) one case where we divide into two
one group which is to make an arrangement by itself, and (ii) the
other where we have two groups composing one work.

In the first case, a group of plants is divided into two, to be arranged

severally in the two divisions of a flower holder named Komi. The plants being divided, this form of design is known in Kakka as Newake (literally meaning to devide the roots), and also as Komiwake (meaning to divide the Komi holder). The so-called Suidō of Kakka and Futatsuten (meaning two points) are also of the same design.

And in the second, we may take the so-called Gyodō-ike and Kabuwake of Kakka, Nikōzuna of Rikka, and Kabuwake of Moribana for examples. Here, one arrangement is to be composed with two groups of the plant material.

(c) Complicated form.

If an arrangement is composed in conformity to the design of the complicated form, it is made with more than three groups of the plants in one vase. There may be taken in Moribana and Kakka many arrangements which are regarded as belonging to this kind of design. What is known as "Moro-ikebana" has been from of old adopting this design.

2.

Solid design

The solid design is to be made, when an arrangement is composed, by arranging flowers solidly in one vessel, and is distinguished as follows:

(a) Two-fold arranging.

One may make a two-fold arrangement by putting two groups of plants in a two-storey vase, one group being arranged in a place higher than the other. While the flat design increases the width flatly, this is of the design that is intended to put one on another. One will find this design chiefly in Kakka.

(b) Three-fold arranging.

The design of the three-fold arranging is such that one arrangement is composed in a vase of three storeys, with plants being arranged separately.

(c) Four-fold arranging.

This means the design where one arrangement is made in a four-storey vessel, plants being put in each of the storeys.

(d) Five-fold arranging.

This design is said of an arrangement that is composed in a vase of five storeys with the plant material arranged in each storey.

(e) Kake-hana (Wall flowers).

In the four kinds of the solid design explained above, the plants are put solidly one on another in the vase laid on the level surface, while, on the contrary, this Kake-hana (Wall flowers) is to be made by being fixed on a certain background and hooked there. In other words, those four are solid laid-arrangements,* and this is a design where an arrangement is fixed and hung on a thing with a certain height from the ground. Nage-ire often employs this design.

(f) Tsuri-hana (Hanging flowers).

Tsuri-hana is the contrary term of Kake-hana. The latter is fixed and hung on a certain background, while, on the other hand, the former, namely the hanging flowers, is designed to be suspended in the air, with a certain distance from the ground. This design is found most frequently in Moribana.

3.

Synthetic design

Both of the flat and solid designs are made on the standard of arranging the plant material in a single vase, and distinguished by the development of the height and width. Unlike them, this design named 'synthetic' means the case where a floral art is to be composed by putting more than two vessels together. If the former two are to be regarded as small designs, this may be called the big design.

Now let us study the synthetic design by dividing it, for convenience' sake, into the following two:

*Namely, ordinary arrangements to be laid on the level surface.

(1) Simple sythetic-design.

It is the design where a floral art is completed by putting together synthetically more than two flower vessels with flowers arranged severally.

It has four cases according to the number of the vessels.

(a) Combination of two vessels.

This is designed in such a way that two arrangements made in two vessels are put together to complete one floral art. It, too, is to be distinguished like the following five:

(i) We put together two vessels of the same kind.
(ii) Two vases different in the kind or in the shape are assorted.
(iii) Sometimes an arrangement without a base for the vessel is combined with one on a high, table-like base called Shoku.
(vi) We have a combination of a Kake-hana (Wall flowers) and a laid-arrangement.
(v) There is another case where a Tsuri-hana (Hanging arrangement) is put together with a laid-arrangement.

(b) Combination of three vessels.

In this case, by assorting three vessels, we intend to complete a floral art. This design has been long adopted under the name of Mitsu-yose (meaning to put three together). Here, too, we put together three vases of different kinds, as well as of the same kind. A hooked vessel (of Kake-hana), a hanging vessel (of Tsuri-hana) and an ordinary vase are combined sometimes, and, at times, a floral art is completed by the assortment of two Tsuri-hana arrangements in the hanging vessels and a laid-arrangement.

(c) Combination of four vessels.

This design was employed even in olden days for the arrangement named "Yose-gojū" (meaning a combined, five-fold arrangement). One intends in this design to complete a floral art by assorting four vessels. However, there is an interesting idea of the Japanese seen in it. In the Japanese language, one pronounces "Four" like "Death." For the

purpose of avoiding this even number, therefore, we use four vases, of which one is two-storeyed, and compose an arrangement with five groups of the plant material, calling it 'Yose-gojū.' The vessels of the same kind are used as a rule, and we see but seldom those of different kinds employed together.

(d) Combination of several vessels.

Here is another case where more than five vessels are assorted so as to complete a floral art, in two methods like the following:

(i) In one case of assorting the vessels according to the height; several vases of the same kind, but different in height, are put together in a line, with flowers arranged separately, and a floral art is completed by them all. Ebirazutsu, Jūniritsu, etc., for instance, are works of this design.

(ii) The other method; in order to complete a floral art, one puts together alternately several vessels of the same kind and different in width, and arranges plants in each of them. We may take Hana-ikada (flower-raft) for a representative example of the design.

Studying the two methods, we shall find that the synthetic design is flatened in both cases, and that a fine distinction brought by them is to be in the point that the first method is rather solid and the second flat.

(2) Complex synthetic-design.

What I have told is of the designs made by the combination of the vessels. This, however, is a design when a floral art is completed by the combination of the vessel and other furniture. People usually make works of this design on a large scale. Hana-tana, Hana-ikō, and the like may be taken as the examples.

(a) Hana-tana.

The design of the Hana-tana (literally, flower shelves) is completed with several vessels laid on shelves, flowers being arranged severally. It is a design combining the flat disposition and solid assortment of

Relations of the Designs.

- Designs of Ikebana.
  - (1) Flat design.
    - (a) Single form……Standard form.
    - (b) Compound form.
      - (i) Komiwake.
      - (ii) Kabuwake.
    - (c) Complicated form.
  - (2) Solid design.
    - (a) Two-fold arranging.
    - (b) Three-fold arranging.
    - (c) Four-fold arranging.
    - (d) Five-fold arranging.
    - (e) Kake-hana.
    - (f) Tsuri-hana.
  - (3) Synthetic design.
    - (1) Simple.
      - (a) Combination of two vessels.
        - (i) Two of the same kind.
        - (ii) Two of differrent kinds.
        - (iii) Arrangement on Shoku & laid arrangement.
        - (iv) Kake-hana & laid arrangement.
        - (v) Tsuri-hana & laid arrangement.
      - (b) Combination of three vessels.
        - (i) Three of the same kind.
        - (ii) Three of different kinds.
        - (iii) Kake-hana, Tsuri-hana & laid-arrangement.
        - (iv) Two Tsuri-hana & a laid-arrangement.
      - (c) Combination of four vessels.
      - (d) Combination of several vessels.
        - (i) Several different in height.
        - (ii) Several different in width.
    - (2) Complex.
      - (a) Hana-tana.
      - (b) Hana-ikō.

the vessels at the same time. One sometimes uses a shelf, and at times two or three shelves, for the design.

(b) Hana-ikō.

The Hana-ikō (meaning the flower clothes-rack) is a design of a special apparatus, which is to be completed by the use of a clothes-rack-shaped furniture together with several arrangements. In most cases, three Kake-hana (Wall flowers), a Tsuri-hana (Hanging arrangements) and a laid-arrangement are making a set. In other words, it is a design to be completed by the solid disposition of the vessels which may be considered flat.

Both Hana-tana and Hana-ikō have been long since made. We see recently the so-called "Set" made in various forms. Those Sets are in their methods nothing but the deformation of either of the given two, or, sometimes, the imitation of them. The flower arrangements in the show-window and the flowers of the stage arrangement may be considered as the design applied or improved practically.

Thus observing the widening and lengthening of the designs, and the process of their being synthesized, we can see that one simple design is passing to a few complicated ones, and, then, they are synthesized and simplified again. When we study the ages of birth of each design and the process of the development, we come to know the conditions of society of the times are reflected in the changes of the designs, and thereby we may imagine to some extent what change will come to them in the future.

有川自然風　有川久恵女史作

ムアニコラベ・キノコタ

（照参事記）

作史女惠久川有　　風然自川有

ムアニコラペ

（照參事記）

松月堂古流　宮田宗與氏作

ンセキス

小原流　工藤光園女史作

ザクロ・ハナショウブ

作 史 女 月 芳 田 永　　流 月 芳

ラ　　バ

池坊　藤原幽竹氏作

華立

古流曙會　　本村理常女史作

メ　　ウ

弘月流　久能隆鳳女史作

チューリップ

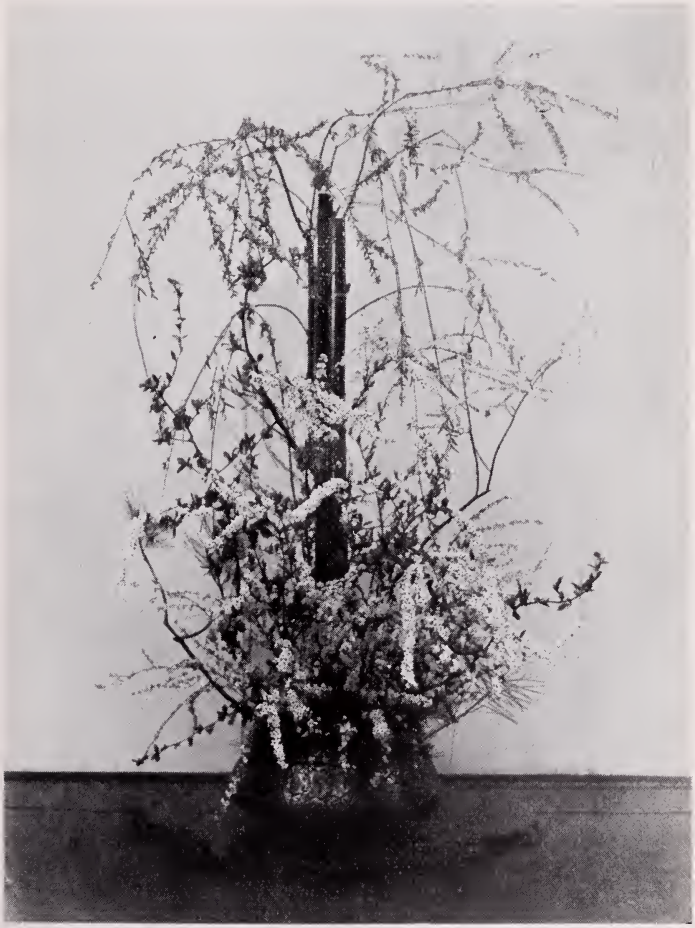
古流　池上理谷氏作

毛　　毛

小原流　久保田皎月女史作

マツ・ノ・イバラ・サ、

草月流　　生出香湖女史作



ギナヤ・ギナヤキユ・ケボ・ケタ・ツマ

池坊　山口樂遊女史作

立華

池坊　二馬と女子みち史作

ウメ・ツバキ

清香古流　　立原深香氏作

キ　バ　ツ

作　氏　松　一　栖　栗　　流古正嚴

キ　　バ　　ツ

池坊　麻生染子女史作

キ　バ　ツ

作史女乃政野河　坊池

キ　バ　ツ

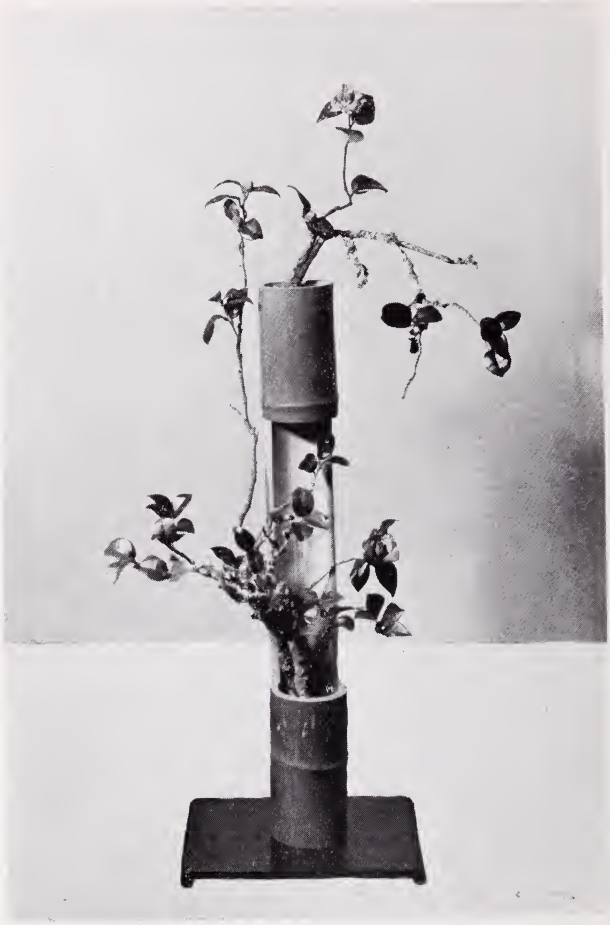
作　史　女　子　う　そ　田　藤　　坊　池

キ　　バ　　ツ

桂式　田邊旗風氏作

キ　バ　ツ

清香古流　佐藤清月氏作



キ　バ　ツ

池坊　石山文恵女史作

キ　バ　ツ

作 史 女 蘭 芳 村 市　　流 蘭 芳

キ　　バ　　ツ

文華式　竹内揣堂氏作

キ　バ　ツ

池坊　兒島文茂氏作

キ　バ　ツ

The Royal Progress in the Daijō Sai. Matting is unrolled before the Emperor and after he has passed this is rolled up behind him. Over the Emperor's head is held a great sedge unbrella.

From an old print.

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The Japanese Enthronement Ceremonies

with

An Account of the Imperial Regalia

By

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Author of

The Political Philosophy of Modern Shintō

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The Enthronement Ceremonies of the Emperor of Japan present an unusual opportunity for the study of Things Japanese. From the standpoints of art, ritual, government, history, sociology, religion and anthropology they are especially rich in materials that invite investigation. This book does not purport to be an exhaustive treatise on the Enthronement Ceremonies as they appear both in the present and in history. It has been written for the general reader in the hope that it may be found of value as a guide to the outline and the interpretation of the great ceremonies.

The rather free sprinkling of capital letters throughout the text calls, perhaps, for a word of explanation. One of the untranslatable elements of the Japanese language is in its use of honorifics. In places in the following chapters where the relationship seems to justify it, an attempt has been made to preserve something of the Japanese atmosphere by the use of capitals. Not infrequently the original honorific has been translated in this simple manner, rather than by some such clumsy device as "august," or "honorable."

Japanese treatises on the Enthronement Ceremonies are numerous. I am indebted to a considerable number of Japanese authorities, past and present, for guidance in various ways. Properly, I should give a list of these works. It is omitted here, however, in the thought

that an array of Japanese titles would tend to bewilder rather than assist the reader unfamiliar with the Japanese language.

Several friends have been good enough to read portions of the book and to aid in other ways in connection with the preparation of the manuscript. If any such friend should do me the honor of reading this introduction, he will know that I hereby publicly recognize his criticism and encouragement, even though I refrain from printing his name.

D. C. HOLTOM.

Tōkyō, Japan.
August 1, 1928.

The Japanese Enthronement Ceremonies

Chapter I

THE IMPERIAL REGALIA

It is decreed by the Law of the Imperial Household of Japan that the enthronement ceremonies of the Emperor shall be held in the city of Kyōto. This involves a temporary transfer of the place of Imperial Residence. The official center of the empire is for the time being shifted from the bustling modern scenes of Tōkyō in the east to the more sedate atmosphere of Kyōto in the west, where century old history speaks from every stone and mountain. The progress of the Emperor from Tōkyō to Kyōto—there to make formal announcement to the Ancestral Spirits and to the Gods of Heaven and Earth and also to the world of the fact of his accession to the throne of his ancestors "in a lineal succession unbroken for ages eternal," and there in the sacrament of the Daijō Sai to enter into spiritual communion with the great deities of the past—is a spectacle befitting the going forth of the off-spring of the Kami.

Near the head of this procession as it makes its way by horse and by train from the newer capital city to the older goes the Kashiko Dokoro, or the Place of Awe, which is the shrine of the sacred mirror of the succession rites. In its ancient dignity of structure and ornamentation it stands out against its modern setting of triumphal arches, brilliant banners, elaborate carriages and flashing military uniforms like an uncut gem against an intricate background of filigree. It is transported in a box-like palanquin called the Onhaguruma, or the Feather Carriage, borne on the shoulders of a band of stalwart youths selected by time honored custom from the village of Yase near Kyōto. These youths are accordingly called the Yase Dōji, that is, the "Yase Boys." They are clad in ceremonial garb of green, and are preceded and followed by ritualists of high rank, robed in rich silks of blue, red, black, green and purple, and mounted on horses decked with trappings of red and gold. The Onhaguruma rests on two heavy beams of plain white wood and

is covered about the sides with brocade. The roof is of red lacquer and is surmounted by a golden ball that suggests the shape of the spherical dome of a stupa. Within is a portable shrine, and carefully concealed within this again, as too sacred for the eye of man to behold, is the mirror. The Onhaguruma precedes the Emperor himself. Meanwhile in the same procession are borne a necklace of odd shaped stone beads and a sword of ancient forging.

The Enthronement of the Emperor of Japan has its inner meaning in ceremonies connected with these three mystic emblems, the Yata Mirror, the Yasakani Curved Jewels and the Kusanagi Sword. These sacred objects make up the three-fold Yamato Regalia. In the current Sino-Japanese terminology they are called collectively the *Sanshu no Shinki.* Their title in Yamato Kotoba, that is the old Japanese speech, is *Mikusa no Kandakara.* Both terms mean "The Three Kinds of Divine Treasures." As originals and replica, they have been handed down from Emperor to Emperor since the very beginning of the long unbroken Japanese dynasty. They carry us back to the dim mythological origins of Japanese institutions, exactly how far back we cannot tell. According to the traditional official chronology they were first used in Imperial Enthronement Ceremonies when Jimmu Tennō, the first Emperor, ascended the throne in 660 B.C. This date is probably at least six hundred years too early. Even so, however, the Japanese succession rites in which the regalia play such an important part are among the most ancient ceremonies observed on earth to-day.

The oldest extant Japanese writings are the Kojiki written in 711-12 A.D., the Nihongi published in 720 A.D. and the Kogoshūi written in 806-7 A.D. In all cases these books are compilations incorporating the materials of documents written several centuries earlier, but now lost. The earlier sections of these documents were based in turn on a much older oral tradition. The three writings just named unite in carrying the founding of the Japanese Empire back to the determination of the great Ancestral Deities (Kami) to send down from Heaven on a mission of conquest the

The Passing of the Ark of the Sacred Mirror — the Kashiko Dokoro.

From *Tairei Shashinchō, Taishō Yonen.*

grandson of Amaterasu-Ōmikami, the Sun Goddess. To this grandson, named Ninigi-no-Mikoto, the great Kami gave command saying, "The Luxuriant Land of Reed Plains[1] is a land over which our descendants shall rule. Do thou, Imperial Grandson, go and rule over it! And the Imperial Succession shall continue unbroken and prosperous, co-eternal with Heaven and Earth." Then they conferred on him the Yata Mirror, the Kusanagi Sword and the Yasakani Curved Jewels, and sent him down. This in the mythological account is the founding of the Empire of Japan.

The Japanese regalia are probably older than the dynasty itself. They are the visible sign and seal of the right to rule over the Japanese nation. Their possession is absolutely essential to the assertion of legitimate claim to the throne. Imperial Household Law itself makes this plain—"Upon the demise of the Emperor, the Imperial Heir shall ascend the Throne, and shall acquire the Divine Treasures of the Imperial Ancestors." To undertsand the enthronement ceremonies of Japan it is indispensable that one should know something of the history and significance of this three-fold regalia.

The word regalia is recognisable as the plural of the Latin form *regalis*, meaning "kingly" or "royal." It is used, however, in a modernized sense. In fact it does not appear in literature with its present-day significance until comparatively recent times. Although, as a scientific appellation the usage is modern, the thing that it describes is very old, so old, indeed, that the beginnings are lost in the far-off haze that envelopes the life of primitive man. Among the deposits of the Aurignacian and the Lower Magdalenian periods have been found perforated shafts of reindeer horn that have been conjectured to have once constituted the regalia of the chiefs of the Old Stone Age.

The term regalia is employed in modern terminology to indicate certain objects that are used in the accession rites of chiefs, kings or emperors whereby the right to rule is

[1] Archaic name for Japan.

either conferred or symbolized. They are the insignia of royal authority. They appear all over the earth, and as just indicated, carry us back to the very dawn of human institutional history. They are as indispensable to the savage chief as to the civilized monarch. In fact the closer we get to primitivity the more needful they become as mysterious safeguards of the throne.

In form regalia are as diverse as the manifold civilizations and cultures in which they appear. War-clubs, batons, axes of stone or metal, cloaks, slippers, fans, feathers, strings of the teeth of animals, bones or teeth of the previous ruler, the head of the dead king covered with gold, a vertebra of the neck along with a nail and a lock of hair of the dead king packed into a crocodile's tooth, horses, umbrellas, skins of animals, rings, staffs, jewels, crystals, seals, chains of precious metal, bracelets, anklets, necklaces, crowns, books, scrolls, and a whole arsenal of swords—all these, and many other objects, are found among the regalia of different peoples. It is a list that reads like a catalogue of the treasures of a museum or like the contents of the witches cauldron in Shakespeare's Macbeth. The suggestion of witchery is not merely incidental.

Students of early human institutions have come to accept with a fair degree of unanimity an explanation of the origin of royal regalia in general that associates them with the technique of an ancient magic. In a primitive society the functions of the chief are magico-religious as well as political and social. He is sorcerer and priest as well as king, and by virtue of this complex position he is the center of an undifferentiated mixture of magic, religion and government. He is thus the administrator of magico-religious rites and ceremonies. By divers occult devices he makes rain, turns aside wind and tempest, restores the sunshine, controls rivers and springs, augments and guards the food supply, promotes the fertility of fields and flocks, heals sickness, brings success in war, and otherwise does a thousand and one odd jobs of magic that increase the wealth and happiness of his people.

What is here designated magic may be briefly explained

The Imperial Carriage of the Enthronement Ceremonies of Taishō Tennō. The carriage itself shows European influence. The phoenix at the top is Chinese.

Picture from *Tairei Shashinchō*, *Taishō Yonen*.

as a method of establishing control over nature, men or spirits by means of a technique in which causal relationship is assumed to exist between objects and events that are not in and of themselves so related. On the psychological side magic may be explained as the mistaken effort to secure control through the naive conclusion that association of ideas necessarily involves an objective causal association of the things for which the ideas stand. Magic thus appears as magic only to the mind that has transcended it. To one who moves within its realm it is indistinguishable from legitimate logical—what we call scientific—procedure. In the psychology of the sincere magic worker, objects or events that resemble each other are regarded as connected, and objects that have once been in close contact with each other or events that have appeared close together in time are regarded as causally related and as continuing to influence each other even after separation. A knife thrust through the image of the heart of an enemy kills the enemy; bits of the hair or of the nails of fingers or toes of another person may be used to work him weal or woe; birds that come in the spring control the weather—the examples are as diverse and as endless as are human thought and practice themselves. As a further matter that calls for special emphasis here, we shall find in the case of the Japanese regalia, that as magic working objects they were originally regarded as charged with a strange super-normal wonder-working power.

Data relating to the significance of the regalia, such as outlined above, have been utilized—particularly by the English anthropologist, Sir James G. Frazer—in an attempt to prove the magical origin of the kingly office itself. This writer tries to show that that individual ascendancy in leadership and wealth, which later developed into the authority of chiefs and kings, appeared first in human society as the product of the wonder-work of the sorcerer. The magic-worker was the first chief, and by the exercise of his occult powers he increased his possessions over his fellow men and strengthened his control over their thoughts and acts. The theory has much to commend it, but it is undoubtedly unsafe to attempt to go too far in this direction. The explanation

overlooks such all important factors in the creation of leadership as superior strength and skill, and unusual intelligence, —factors that reveal their efficacy even in a herd of wild cattle. It also errs in that it is a part of an untenable thesis that magic precedes religion in the genesis of human institutions. It is nevertheless certain that an important part of the office of king or chief in a primitive society was, and still is, magical. It thus not infrequently happens that the objects of the royal regalia begin their history as powerful fetishes. Far more than being mere insignia of royal authority, they are mysterious devices whereby their fortunate possessors are protected, and whereby the safety of the state is ensured. Accession to the throne in a primitive society is a great rite of passage, wherein elaborate precautions are required lest the potencies of the previous reign be lessened or even lost forever in the dangerous interim. Something must be found outlasting the brief lives of individual men whereby the *mana,* or the mysterious power, of the dynasty may be safely carried across the break of death. For the solution of this great problem man has turned to the magical operation of the regalia.

The Japanese regalia, as examples of the principle that the primary symbols of early kingly office tend to partake of a magical character, are deserving of special study, particularly in view of the fact that no more striking illustration of the principle just enunciated is to be found in the entire range of relevant data. We may turn, then, to the detailed examination of the *Sanshu no Shinki.* The mirror, as the most conspicuous and at the same time the most revered object of the regalia, deserves first consideration.

Chapter II

THE MIRROR

The oldest mirrors yet discovered in Japan are obtained from early burial sites. They show strong Chinese influence, being either of direct Chinese manufacture, or else made in Japan after carefully copied Chinese patterns. They follow the forms of the Chinese Han dynasty which flourished from 206 B.C. to 201 A.D. These facts support the conclusion that the Japanese learned mirror making from China at a date that roughly approximates the beginning of the Christian era. The exact date is unknown. These early continental mirrors probably first reached Japan by way of Korea. The first mirrors known to have been actually made in Japan by the Japanese were of a material which the early records call "white copper," — *hakudō* in the original. Chemical analysis of this substance has identified it as an amalgam of copper and tin with a small portion of lead. References to iron mirrors begin to appear in the literary sources during the middle of the eighth century A.D. Glass mirrors were first brought to Japan from Europe toward the close of the Tokugawa Era. Mirrors made from soapstone or earthenware are sometimes exhumed from the ancient Japanese burial sites. These may once have had some ceremonial usage, now forgotten. It is possible, however, that a reflecting surface was produced on such stone mirrors by wetting them or by immersing them in water, as was done, for example, with similar mirrors in Polynesia.

As already stated, the sacred mirror of the Japanese Imperial Regalia bears the name of Yata Kagami, that is the Yata Mirror. Various conjectures have been made as to the meaning of Yata. There is no marked disagreement among Japanese scholars as to the meaning of *ya*. It is recognized as an archaic expression for a large and indefinite number which later attained the more precise meaning of "eight." The term Yata Kagami then means either a mirror with many *ta* or one with eight *ta*. The main difficulty lies

in determining the meaning of *ta*. One explanation takes the word in the sense of *te* (*ta*), "hand," in other words a hand's breadth or a span. The English span is nine inches, the Japanese, eight *sun*. The two units of measure are thus approximately the same. This would give us a mirror many spans wide, or, adopting the more definite meaning of *ya*, one sixty-four *sun* in diameter—something over six feet—which is rather extravagant when we remember that at one period of its history the mirror was kept by the Emperor on his couch-throne. Dr. Kenji Takahashi, one of the best known Japanese authorities on the history of the regalia, says in his bok entitled *Kagami to Tsurugi no Tama* ("The Mirror, the Sword and the Jewels") that the Yata Mirror is about ten *sun*, approximately one foot, in diameter.

Another view regards *yata* as a contraction of *ya-ata*, and explains *ata* as an old root form that appears in such words as *ata-ma*, "head," and *hata*, "fin," with the primary significance of a projection or an appendage. The meaning would be, then, a mirror with eight corners, or one with many angles, perhaps a mirror with eight projecting bells. It is true that octagonal mirrors are not unknown in Japanese history, and mirrors with bells attached to the periphery are sometimes met with, but it is important to note that no mirrors of such form are found among the survivals of the very early period from which the sacred regalia mirror undoubtedly dates. All of the oldest mirrors are round.

A third explanation, and one that seems to have in it the largest degree of probability, derives *ya-ta* similarly from *ya-ata* or *ya-hata*, but explains *hata* in the sense of *heri*, meaning "rim," or "edge." According to this etymology the original must have been a mirror with eight rims or one with many edges. Mirrors with concentric rings cast in relief on their reverse faces are sometimes found in the excavation of ancient burial sites. The priests of the shrine of Ōyama-tsu-Mi-no-Kami at the town of Miya no Ura on the Island of Ōmi in the Inland Sea, famous for its antiquities, claim to have among their most ancient treasures a mirror embossed on the back with exactly eight of these

concentric rings. The Yata Kagami may be taken as a general name for this kind of mirror.

Sentiments of awe cluster about the sacred regalia mirror, partly because it has come down out of a remote and mysterious past, partly because of its relation to the Imperial power and the impressiveness of its symbolization of unbroken royal authority, and partly because of the influence of the belief that it was presented to an early ancestor of the race by the most revered personage of all Japanese story, the great Sun Goddess, Amaterasu-Ōmikami herself. But it is not for these reasons alone that the mirror is wonderful. To account for its mysteriousness fully we must explore a yet more primitive stratum of human lore. The final explanation lies in the marvel that the reflected image has always presented to the mind of unsophisticated man. Without a knowledge of the physical laws involved in the incidence and rebound of light waves, man has ever found the picture thrown back from the reflecting surface an object of reverence and fear. The faces and forms seen floating in the depths of pools and streams were spirits, or more marvelous still, they were the very souls of the beholders enticed by a strange sorcery from out their bodies and focused into visibility before their eyes. This mystery is older than the knowledge of the mirror, and was not solved by the invention thereof. It was rather rendered more vivid. When man learned to produce with his own hands a reflecting surface of polished stone or of metal, the old superstitions regarding water reflections were carried over to these new wonders and the mirror became the magical means par excellence for drawing the soul from out the body and making it apparent to sight. In reaching this idea primitive man has simply followed the plain evidence of his senses. Höffding in his *Outlines of Psychology* cites the case of a savage, who on looking into a mirror for the first time, cried out. "I gaze into the world of spirits."[1] Beliefs regarding reflection souls are very old and very widely disseminated over the earth. A citation from the *Golden*

[1] Quoted by Crawley in his article on *Mirror* in Hasting's *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* (H.E.R.E.).

Bough will suffice to indicate something of the nature and diffusion of this belief.

"As some peoples believe a man's soul to be in his shadow, so other (or the same) peoples believe it to be in his reflection in water or a mirror. Thus 'the Andamanese do not regard their shadows but their reflections (in any mirror) as their souls.' When the Motumotu of New Guinea first saw their likenesses in a looking-glass, they thought that their reflections were their souls. In New Caledonia the old men are of the opinion that a person's reflection in water or a mirror is his soul."[2]

Such examples could be extended at considerable length. Crawley has called attention to the fact that many terms for soul point to this same association with reflections. "The Melanesian *atai* ('soul') means 'reflection,' and the same meaning belongs to many terms among the Indonesians."[3]

In view of comparisons to be made below with a similar belief among the Japanese, we should note carefully in the next place a development of the above superstition into the notion that the mirror has power to abstract and retain the soul. I cite some of the evidence which Crawley has collected.

"There is a pool in Saddle Island river (Melanesia) into which any one who looks dies; the malignant spirit takes hold of his life by means of his reflection in the water. The Zulus have a similar terror of looking into any dark pool; a beast therein will take away their reflections. The Aztecs supposed that to see one's reflection in water wherein a knife had been placed meant a stab to the soul, and the Galelarese forbid their children to look in mirrors, which will take away their beauty. Manu said (in rules for a *snataka*): 'Let him not look at his own image in water.' The old Greeks had the same maxim; to dream of seeing one's self reflected foreboded death."[4]

This old belief that the soul may be drawn out of the body by the mirror and retained therein helps us in understanding certain practices affecting mirrors that have survived in European and American civilization, for example, the custom of turning the mirror face to the wall or covering it with a cloth after a death has occurred. Frazer's explanation of the origin of this practice is illuminating: "It is feared that the soul, projected out of the person in the shape of his reflection in the mirror, may be carried off by the

[2] Frazer, J. G., *The Golden Bough* (single Vol. ed.), p. 192.
[3] Art. "Mirror," (H.E.R.E.)
[4] Crawley, *op. cit.*

ghost of the departed, which is commonly supposed to linger about the house till the burial."[5] For the same reason a sick person should avoid looking in a mirror, lest the soul already weakened by sickness and uncertain of tenure by the body, should be abstracted and carried away by some lurking ghost or demon.

But we must return to the field of our immediate study. A belief in reflection souls was prevalent in Old Japan. In order that we may make comparison with this Japanese material to best advantage we should note a further development of the reflection soul idea in the form of the belief that the faces and forms of persons intimately related to the beholder, or scenes and events affecting the beholder for good or ill, are imaged in the mirror under proper conditions. It is this idea that underlies the ancient practice of divination by reflecting surfaces, for which purpose water pools, ink pools, mirrors and crystal balls have all been used. In the Chinese book *Chikyozu*[6] cited in the *Hyakkwa Dai Jiten*, it is said, "If one wishes to know the place where treasure exists, (he should) take a large mirror and in the night time look at the image reflected therein. If a light appears in the midst of the mirror, something [a treasure] exists beneath."[7]

A form of this same belief is seen in the idea that certain sacred mirrors reflect the likenesses of the gods themselves. Such a view prevailed among the old Greeks. Pausanias mentions a certain temple near Megalopolis within which was a sacred mirror, regarding which he says, "Anyone who looks into this mirror will see himself either very dimly or not at all, but the images of the gods and the throne are clearly visible."[8] On the Japanese side, we find in the Kogoshūi important evidence showing how this same belief regarding the reflection-souls of deities furnished the original background of folk-psychology out of which special regard for the regalia mirror developed. When the two celestial ancestors, Amaterasu-Ōmikami and Takami-Musu-

[5] Frazer, *op. cit.*

[6] 地鏡圖

[7] *Hyakkwa Dai Jiten*, art. *Kagami.*

[8] Pausanius, VIII, XXXVII, 7, cited H.E.R.E., 8, 697.

bi-no-Kami, presented their Imperial Grandson with the Divine Regalia and sent him down to rule over Japan, they declared:

"Whenever you gaze upon this sacred mirror, you behold our sacred selves, reflected in it. So regarding it, you will find it holy, and must therefore reverently worship it, ever keeping it beside your couch and in the privacy of your own room."[9]

In the Nihongi it is Amaterasu-Ōmikami alone who confers the mirror upon her offspring, and the close association of mirror and sun in other passages in the old literature favors the view that the Nihongi tradition is the original one. The mirror which Amaterasu-Ōmikami gave to the Heavenly Grandson was a device whereby she was able to project her soul out of her body and make it available to her offspring as a protecting genius. The Heike Monogatari says of the sacred Yata Mirror that it was given to the Imperial Grandson by the Sun Goddess "that the reflection of her features might be preserved therein, and that when her descendants looked on them they might see as it were herself."[10] The story of the Matsuyama Kagami introduces the idea of communion between a daughter and her dead mother by means of a mirror in which the reflection-soul of the latter appeared to the former.

This regard for the mirror as the seat of a Kami largely accounts for its worship among the early Japanese. It is a most important factor in understanding the prominence of the mirror in Shintō in general, and in particular accounts for the fact that at Ise the Sun Goddess is still believed to enter the Yata Kagami when summoned there by proper rites. The Yata Kagami is not simply the symbol of the sun. From the beginning it carried the soul of the sun. The plain evidence of the senses that the mirror gave off light as did the sun in heaven, and that, held beneath the direct rays of the sun, it sparkled with dazzling brilliancy, would have been enough to convince the early Japanese that the mirror had mysteriously captured the spirit of Amaterasu-

[9] Katō and Hoshino, *Kogoshūi*, p. 26.

[10] *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, Vol. 49, Pt. 1, p. 347.

Ōmikami. We can understand from this how it comes to pass that the mirror is itself a Kami.

A final conception which the Japanese have shared with other peoples is that of the mirror as a protective device for keeping away evil spirits. The underlying belief here is that in the mirror the true nature of man or demon, however much disguised in outward appearance, is clearly shown. In the Chinese book, *Hōbokushi*,[11] as quoted in the *Hyakkwa Dai Jiten*, there is a passage to the following effect: "When the Ten-Thousand-Things grow old their spirits all have power to disguise themselves in human form and deceive people. However, they are unable to alter their true forms (which appear) in the midst of mirrors. Therefore, to prevent evil spirits from coming near (a mirror) of nine inches or more in diameter should be used." This same superstition either had an independent origin in Japan or was early transplanted from China. When Yamato-Takeru-no-Miko-to went to subdue the barbarian Yezo he placed at the very prow of his boat a large mirror.[12] The explanation of the device is apparent from the above passage. The mirror protected the occupants of the boat against the unknown approach of evil spirits in disguise. The same explanation applies to the mirrors commonly found just within the Oratory in front of the Main Sanctuary of Shintō shrines. This external mirror must be distinguished from that which is frequently utilized as the *Shintai* or "Divine Body" of the shrine and in which the Kami take residence. The latter mirror is carefully concealed within the inner recesses of the shrine, while the former is open to the plain view of all who approach. The outer mirror is a protective device. It is there not so much that the worshippers may see the mirror, but that the mirror itself may see all that come near. Thus evil spirits, unable to disguise themselves before it, will avoid the sacred precincts. Mirrors with the image of Buddha on the reverse side have from ancient times been hung up in Japanese homes as protections against evil and misfortune. There is also a custom of hanging *mamori-*

[11] 抱朴子

[12] See Aston, *Nihongi*, Vol. I, p. 206.

bukuro, or charm bags, on the mirror-stands. Thereby the magical protection of mirror and charm are associated together to supplement and reinforce each other.

It is from the standpoint of the magical capacity of the mirror to produce light that its part in the ceremony of the recall of the Sun Goddess from the Rock Cave of Heaven is to be understood. This familiar story should be noted with particular care at this point, since it purports to give the mythological origin of the Yata Mirror. We follow the account in the Nihongi.

After this Susa-no-Wo-no-Mikoto's behaviour was exceedingly rude. In what way? Amaterasu-Ōmikami had made august rice-fields of Heavenly narrow rice-fields and Heavenly long rice-fields. Then Susa-no-Wo-no-Mikoto, when the seed was sown in spring, broke down the divisions between the plots of rice, and in autumn let loose the Heavenly piebald colts, and made them lie down in the midst of the rice-fields. Again, when he saw that Amaterasu-Ōmikami was about to celebrate the feast of first-fruits, he secretly voided excrement in the new palace. Moreover, when he saw that Amaterasu-Ōmikami was in her sacred weaving hall, engaged in weaving the garments of the gods, he flayed a piebald colt of Heaven, and breaking a hole in the roof-tiles of the hall, flung it in. Then Amaterasu-Ōmikami startled with alarm, and wounded herself with the shuttle. Indignant at this, she straightway entered the Rock Cave of Heaven, and having fastened the Rock-door, dwelt there in seclusion. Therefore constant darkness prevailed on all sides, and the alternation of day and night was unknown.

Then the eighty myriads of Gods met on the banks of the tranquil River of Heaven, and considered in what manner they should supplicate her. Accordingly, Omohi-kane-no-Kami, with profound device and far-reaching thought, at length gathered long-singing birds of the Eternal Land and made them utter their prolonged cry to one another. Moreover, he made Ta-jikara-Wo-no-Kami to stand beside the Rock-door. Then Ame-no-Koyane-no-Mikoto, ancestor of the Nakatomi-no-Muraji, and Futo-dama-no-Mikoto, ancestor of the Imibe-no-Obito, dug up a five-hundred branched True Sakaki tree of the Heavenly Mount Kagu. On its upper branches they hung an august five-hundred string of Yasaka Curved Jewels. On the middle branches they hung a Yata Mirror.

On its lower branches they hung white soft offerings and blue soft offerings. Then they recited their liturgy together.

Moreover, Ama-no-Ūzume-no-Mikoto, ancestress of the Sarume-no-Kimi, took in her hand a spear wreathed with Eulalia grass, and standing before the door of the Rock-cave of Heaven, skilfully performed a mimic dance. She took, moreover, the true Sakaki tree of the Heavenly Mount

Kagu, and made of it a head-dress, she took club-moss and made of it braces, she kindled fires, she placed a tub bottom upwards, and gave forth a divinely inspired utterance.

Now Amaterasu-Ōmikami heard this, and said:—"Since I have shut myself up in the Rock-cave, there ought surely to be continual night in the Central Land of Fertile Reed-plains. How then can Ama-no-Uzume-no-Mikoto be so jolly? So with her august hand, she opened for a narrow space the Rock-door and peeped out. Then Ta-jikara-Wo-no-Kami forthwith took Amaterasu-Ōmikami by the hand, and led her out. Upon this the Gods, Nakatomi-no-Kami and Imibe-no-Kami, at once drew a limit by means of a bottom-tied rope and begged her not to return again (into the cave).[13]

This story in the form in which the Nihongi has preserved it bears evidence of having worked over more primitive data with the materials of a later and more advanced civilization. For example, tiled roofs could never have been a part of the original setting. Thatch was the best that the earliest Japanese culture could boast. Nevertheless the primary elements of the account give the impression of great age. We have here an excellent example of mythological rationalization. An old ceremony for restoring the sunlight is being accounted for in mythological terms. The ritual itself is undoubtedly much older than the explanation thereof. Underlying the myth we can easily detect a strong motive of fear arising out of some form of obscuration of the sun. Three explanations have been offered, namely, a solar eclipse, obscuration of the sun by storm clouds and the daily setting of the sun in the west. There is reason for believing that the early Japanese called the sinking of the sun below the horizon the retirement of Amaterasu-Ōmikami to her Rock-cave, but it is impossible to believe that a restoration rite of the elaborateness of the one just examined was of daily or even frequent occurrence. The prominence of the storm god, Susa-no-Wo-no-Mikoto, in creating the situation that caused the withdrawal of the Sun Goddess is favorable to the hypothesis of a prolonged darkening by heavy storm clouds, but it is pertinent to observe that in their ignorance of the real cause of a solar eclipse the early Japanese would necessarily be apt to attribute any un-

[13] Aston, *Nihongi*, Vol. I, pp. 40-45.

usual or prolonged darkening of the sun to the mischief-making of Susa-no-Wo-no-Mikoto. On the other hand, the vividness with which the account preserves the memory of intense darkness supports the theory of a total solar eclipse. The Kogoshūi says that it was a "pitch darkness," so deep that no one could discern between day and night. Whether obscuration by storm clouds or by the shadow of the moon, the story depicts a ceremony that was brought into being by the combined force of a fear that the sun would not come back and of an instinct that something must be done to bring it back.

The ceremonial probably represents a customary procedure in meeting such a crisis that had developed throughout a long period of time. The orthodox interpretation of the myth represents Amaterasu-Ōmikami as being influenced by two of the great forces that have always swayed the female heart, curiosity and love of beautiful gifts. It is true that the Nihongi as rendered in Aston's translation given above speaks of "white soft offerings" and "blue soft offerings," but it is hardly legitimate to conclude from this that the device created for the purpose of bringing Amaterasu-Ōmikami out of the cave was originally regarded merely as an offering. The "soft offerings" were streamers of white bark-cloth and of blue hemp. They represent the colors of fair weather, white clouds and blue sky, and are part of the magic. The cocks are undoubtedly introduced for the same reason. It was a matter of experience that their crowing brought the dawn, and in an emergency such as that which the ceremony was created to meet they would help bring back the sun. The mirror was used in the rite because it was a sun image, indeed the myth expressly recognizes it as such. The original purpose of introducing a sun image in the paraphernalia of the ceremony was to make light by imitative magic. In the Kojiki account the mirror is represented as an actual Kami, not as an offering, and the whole description seems to be that of a ceremony in which the full return of Amaterasu-Ōmikami was accomplished by the magical attraction of a mirror steadily displayed before the emerging sun—"Then Ame-no-Uzume-no-Mikoto spoke,

saying, 'We rejoice and are glad because there is a Kami [i.e. the mirror] more illustrious than Thine Augustness.' While she was thus speaking, Ame-no-Koyane-no-Mikoto and Futo-tama-no-Mikoto pushed forward the mirror and respectfully showed it to Amaterasu-Ōmikami, whereupon Amaterasu-Ōmikami, more and more astonished, gradually came forth from the door and gazed upon it."[14] The appearance of bonfires in the story likewise suggests a magical light-making ceremony. A similar explanation of the meaning of the jewels will appear later in the discussion.

It is in this story that we find the mythological origin of the Yata Mirror of the Japanese Imperial Regalia. The tradition that a mirror which had once been used to bring back the sun had passed into the possession of the Sun Goddess and was thence handed on to the first human ancestors of the Imperial Line may mean either that a magic mirror of the old light-making ceremony was taken over into the regalia because of its talismanic potencies, or that an original regalia mirror because of its special mystic efficacy was customarily made use of in the light ritual. In either case we have here in the Japanese field an excellent example of the original magical nature of regalia emblems.

The most direct literary evidence that the original associations of the Yata Kagami were magical has yet to be presented. According to the Kogoshūi, the Emperor Sujin (97-30 B.C., following the traditional chronology) in the fifth year of his reign, when ruling from the Mizukaki Palace in Shiki, "began to feel uneasy at dwelling on the same couch and under the same roof, beside the Mirror sacred to Amaterasu-Ōmikami and the Herb-quelling Divine Sword, and being greatly overwhelmed by their awe-inspiring divine influence," he ordered them removed to the village of Kasanui in the district of Yamato where a new holy site was prepared for them. The Emperor took the precaution, however, of having replica of the originals made which were kept near his person just as were the old. After recounting how this was done, there follows in the Kogoshūi a passage which affords unobstructed view of the folk-beliefs that

[14] Chamberlain, *Kojiki*, p. 58.

surrounded the regalia in the beginning. The text reads: "The new mirror and sword are the identical sacred emblems which the Imibe family offer to the Emperor as the divine insignia at his enthronement ceremony, which protect the legitimate sovereign against hostile evil powers."[15]

No modern anthropologist could set forth the underlying theory of regalia with greater clarity than do these old words of the Kogoshūi—the regalia are sacred insignia secured by the new ruler at his enthronement whereby his succession is legitimatized, and at the same time they magically protect their possessor against evil powers.

A careful gleaning of Japanese literature would reveal numerous stories of the miraculous powers of the sacred regalia mirror. Buried in the ground by the Imperial Princess Takuhata, the Virgin Priestess of Ise, it strangely revealed its presence by a bright rainbow that appeared above its place of concealment. When, in the Battle of Dan-no-Ura, soldiers of the victorious Genji army attempted to secure a surreptitious peep into the chest wherein the replica mirror was enshrined they were overpowered by a dazzling light and driven mad.

Very early in its history the original Yata Mirror found a permanent place of enshrinement in a spot where it has ever remained in peace, beyond the reach of the storms of the centuries. In the twenty-sixth year of his reign the Emperor Suinin, who according to the traditional chronology came to the throne in the year 29 B.C. as the son of Emperor Sujin mentioned above, transferred the original mirror and sword to a shrine built for them on the banks of the Isuzu River in Ise. The Sword eventually found its way to the Atsuta Shrine near Nagoya. A brief statement of its history will appear in the following chapter. The mirror has ever remained enshrined in the Holy of Holies of the Dai Jingū of Ise as the most sacred material object of all Japan. Mirror worship has an important place in Shintō.

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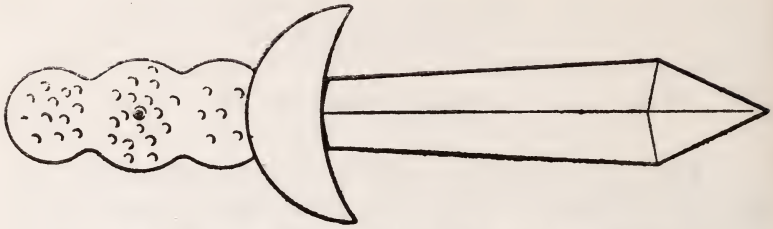
[15] Katō and Hoshino, *Kogoshūi*, p. 35.

Chapter III

THE SWORD

From the very beginning the Japanese made their own swords. References to warlike implements made both of metal and of stone appear side by side in the earliest literary records. The followers of Emperor Jimmu, whom the traditional chronology dates in the seventh century B.C., were armed with stone weapons resembling hammers and probably identical with those unearthed in numbers by archaeologists, but even earlier in the mythological period than Jimmu Tennō references to true swords of metal appear. It is very difficult to date these references with accuracy, but it is fairly safe to say that the Japanese have been acquainted with the art of metal sword making for close to two thousand years. Their oldest metal swords were of iron and no connection can be traced between them and the ancient swords of China, although it is true that swords of Chinese manufacture made of copper and of iron early found their way into Japan. The knowledge of metal sword making antedates even the legendary period of Japanese history.

The great swords of Old Japan were personified and even deified. They were named just as men were. In certain cases they were given the title of Kami as an indication of the awe-inspiring, divine attributes which they possessed. We read in Japanese literature of wonderful swords that came and went of themselves through space, and that even crossed the sea, of swords that healed sickness and answered prayer, of swords that punished profanation with disease and death, of swords that leaped miraculously from their scabbards to fight for their possessors, and that mysteriously protected their owners from all forms of danger, of swords that were gods, and that gave birth to gods. Great shrines have been built to swords and the deities which they represent. Some of these shrines have survived as the centers of living cults even to the present day.



Sketch of Ancient Sword. Swords of this shape are commonly found among Votive Offerings at Shintō Shrines.

Especially noteworthy in the old literature are the marvels wrought by the Sacred Regalia Sword. From numerous examples two are selected for introductory consideration. The fame of the Kusanagi sword spread far and wide, even to countries beyond the seas. Knowledge of its extraordinary virtues thus came to the ears of the King of the Korean country of Shiragi. Carried away by covetousness he planned theft. In the year 668 A.D., by the aid of a priest named Dōgyō, he succeeded in stealing the sword, but before Dōgyō could get far on his way, it flew from him and returned of itself to its shrine at Atsuta. After a few days Dōgyō tried again and this time got so far in his machinations as to actually board ship with the talisman in his possession and set out to sea. Then came a great storm. The ship made no progress. In fear Dōgyō tried to throw the sword overboard but it clung to him like a guilty conscience. Finally Dōgyō was forced to carry the sword back to Atsuta and surrender himself up for execution. The second incident concerns the Emperor Temmu. In the year 686 A.D. this Emperor fell sick and there seemed no hope of his recovery. Then says the Nihongi, "It was ascertained by divination that the Emperor's disease was owing to a curse from the Kusanagi sword." It seems that some years earlier the Emperor had removed the sword from its shrine and had kept it near his own person. A disease from which he was never to recover was popularly regarded as punishment meted out by the sword itself for this sacrilege.

The sacred sword of the Imperial Regalia bears two

titles: *Kusa-nagi no Tsurugi,* or "Grass-mower Sword," also translated "Herb-quelling Sword," and *Ama no Mura-kumo no Tsurugi,* or the "Gathering-clouds of Heaven Sword." The later title is the older of the two. The traditional origin of these names will be explained presently.

The commonly accepted explanation of the prominence of the sword in Shintō ceremonials rests on its importance in the social, or more specifically, the military history of Japan. It was inevitable that a race of warriors who lived by the sword should revere and deify the emblem of their power. The sword thus became the symbol of the soul of the samurai, and as such the object of his worship. The assumption here is that ceremonies and symbols tend to express those interests and activities that are of most importance to human society itself. The assumption is undoubtedly correct. It is certain, for example, that the gods did not learn to carry swords until after the practice had attained a certain degree of prominence among men. It is needless to repeat the old fallacy that the anthropomorphic personifying tendency is weak in early Japanese thinking, for it is true in Shintō as elsewhere that the gods were projections of human wishes, that they were pictured in human forms, domesticated so to speak, and equipped with human clothes and weapons as well as with human passions. Thus the importance of the sword in Shintō rites, including the enthronement ceremonies, may rightly be taken as an emphatic witness of its importance to the Japanese people themselves. But this is not the whole story.

The experiences that went into the making of the major deities of old Shintō were not wholly, nor indeed primarily, limited to the field of human social relationships. Great forces of nature also played a significant rôle. In the life stories of the greatest of the gods we constantly see how cosmic phenomena are being interpreted in terms of the materials of domestic and social life. This is conspicuously true of the divine sword of Shintō. The majesty and the awe of the lightning have contributed to the significance of the sword of the Japanese Imperial regalia. In the lightning flash ancient man saw laid bare in the sky the terrible

striking weapon of the gods. The conception here met with must be almost as old as human thought itself. Before this weapon of the gods was a sword it was a stone hammer, before it was a hammer it was perhaps a wooden club or a bit of unshaped rock. Scattered widely over the earth in stories of celestial clubs, staffs, celts, thunderbolts, spears and swords we find the materials for reconstructing an important chapter in the story of how old attitudes of awe in the presence of the unknown forces of nature survive throughout long periods of social evolution.

This development lies back of the Kusanagi Sword of the Japanese Imperial Regalia and has had profound influence upon ideas regarding it. This sword is sacred not only because of great age and memorable associations in the social life of the Japanese people. It is all this and much more. At a very remote period it had added to it the mystery and power of the lightning flash. Little wonder that Susa-no-Wo-no-Mikoto who originally found it declared that it was an awesome sword, two precious to be retained by himself, and forthwith sent it up to heaven to be the property of the Heavenly Shining Great Deity herself.

The fact that the regalia sword was discovered, according to the original myth, by Susa-no-Wo-no-Mikoto, the storm god of the early Shintō pantheon, should afford us more than a hint as to its original nature. In considering, then, more in detail the reasons for associating the Kusanagi Sword with lightning, we may note in the first place that the story of its discovery in the tail of a great serpent is full of evidence showing how conceptions born of primitive experience with storm have attached themselves thereto.

We follow the Nihongi again. The citation given below takes up the account just after Susa-no-Wo-no-Mikoto, for violent misdemeanor, has been cast out of Heaven.

"Then Susa-no-Wo-no-Mikoto descended from Heaven and proceeded to the head-waters of the River Hi, in the province of Idzumo. At this time he heard a sound of weeping at the head-waters of the river, and he therefore went in search of the sound. He found there an old man and an old woman. Between them was set a young girl, whom they were caressing and lamenting over. Susa-no-Wo-no-Mikoto

asked them, saying:—'Who are ye, and why do ye lament thus?' The answer was:—'I am Earthly Deity, and my name is Ashi-nadzuchi. My wife's name is Te-nadzuchi. This girl is our daughter, and her name is Kushi-nada-hime. The reason of our weeping is that formerly we had eight children, daughters. But they have been devoured year after year by an eight-forked serpent, and now the time approaches for this girl to be devoured. There is no means of escape for her, and therefore do we grieve.' Susa-no-Wo-no-Mikoto said:—'If that is so, wilt thou give me thy daughter?' He replied, and said:—'I will comply with they behest and give her to thee.' Therefore Susa-no-Wo-no-Mikoto on the spot changed Kushi-nada-hime into a many-toothed close-comb, which he stuck in the august knot of his hair. Then he made Ashi-nadzuchi and Te-nadzuchi to brew eight-fold *sake*, to make eight cupboards, in each of them to set a tub filled with *sake*, and so to await its coming. When the time came the serpent actually appeared. It had an eight-forked head and an eight-forked tail; its eyes were red like the *akakagachi*,[1] and on its back firs and cypresses were growing. As it crawled it extended over a space of eight hills and eight valleys. Now when it came and found the *sake*, each head drank up one tub, and it became drunken and fell asleep. Then Susa-no-Wo-no-Mikoto drew the ten-span sword which he wore, and chopped the serpent into small pieces. When he came to the tail the edge of the sword was slightly notched, and he therefore split open the tail and examined it. In the inside there was sword. This is the sword which is called Kusa-nagi-no-Tsurugi ("Grass-mower Sword").

"In one writing it is said:—Its original name was Ama-no-Mura-kumo-no-Tsurugi (Gathering-clouds of Heaven Sword)."

A note in the text of the Nihongi gives the following explanation of the older name:

"It perhaps received this name from the clouds constantly hanging over the place where the serpent was. In the time of the Imperial Prince Yamato-dake its name was changed to Kusanagi-no-Tsurugi."

The story concludes with the words:

"Susa-no-Wo-no-Mikoto said:—'This is a divine sword. How can I presume to appropriate it to myself?' So he gave it up to the Gods of Heaven."[2]

This story of the discovery of the regalia sword is known to every Japanese school boy. It is told and retold in the current text-books, sometimes apparently as history, sometimes without comment. In its main outlines it is immediately recognizable as one of the twice-told tales of universal mythology. Aston in a foot-note to his translation

[1] Perhaps a kind of snake. See Aston, *Nihongi*, I, p. 53.
[2] Aston, *Nihongi*, pp. 52-3.

has already suggested a comparison with the Greek story of Perseus and Andromeda. Close similarities have been found among widely separated peoples. The underlying meaning is not difficult to see. The story is a nature myth, and like most myths, full of illogical primitive reverie, but nevertheless based on certain clearly identifiable human experiences. It embodies the stern struggles of early agriculturists with devastating storm. The father in the myth rightly says that he and his wife are earth deities. They are the lands of the primitive farmers. Their very names suggest this—*Ashi-na-dzuchi* (*tsuchi*) and *Te-na-dzuchi*, "Foot-earth" and "Hand-earth," perhaps to be understood as the fields of the early farmers painfully worked by hand and foot. Their daughters are crops, eight of them, that is many, produced in succession season after season, and season after season devoured by the great serpent. The last crop-daughter, who typifies all who have gone before her, is Kushi-nada-hime, or Kushi-inada-hime. *Kushi* may mean "strange" or "marvelous." It may also mean "comb." This latter sense perhaps suggested to the early myth makers the incident of transformation into a comb and concealment in the hair of Susa-no-Wo. *Ina*, or *ine*, is "rice"; *da*, or *ta*, is "paddy-field"; *hime* is "daughter" or "maiden." The entire meaning then is "Marvelous-Rice-field-Maiden." She was the food of a race of rice growers. We can understand from this the source of the tone of weeping in the story. It was first of all in the lamentation of the peasants themselves.

The great devouring serpent is the storm dragon, many times familiar in Oriental symbolism. He extends above the hills and the valleys. His eyes are fiery red. In his tail he bears a sharp sword. The original name of this sword is *Ame-no-mura-kumo-no-tsurugi*, "The Gathering-clouds of Heaven Sword." The Nihongi preserves the correct tradition when it says that this name was given because of the clouds that constantly gathered above where the serpent was. The regalia sword, then, was born as lightning in the tail of the storm dragon.

There exists convincing literary evidence that the in-

terpretation just outlined rests soundly on the groundwork of primitive Japanese folklore. The Heike Monogatari has preserved the correct ancient tradition of the origin of the regalia sword—"It was called the Gathering-clouds of Heaven Sword, and the reason for this name was that when it was in the body of the serpent black clouds always covered it, and so it was called 'cloud-cluster' sword. Now wind went forth from the tail of this great serpent and rain fell from its head. It was the Dragon-king of the winds and waters that descended to the earth."[3]

Nothing could be more explicit than this. It leaves no room for doubt as to the nature of the primitive experiences that lie behind the myth of origin of the regalia sword. The sword, like the mirror, finds it prototype in a bright and overmastering heavenly light. The significance of this fact will become more apparent perhaps when we arrive at conclusions relative to the deep-seated and ancient belief that the Japanese Imperial Dynasty is *Hitsugi*, that is a "Light Succession."

To be sure there is apparent incongruity in the fact that in the myth of the origin of the regalia sword the storm dragon is killed by the storm god. The difficulty is not as serious as it may seem to be at first glance however. As a matter of fact we probably have here two or more storm myths of diverse origin somewhat clumsily worked into one. Certainly the storm god element is much older than the agricultural element. It is probable that an independent myth of crop destruction by the storm dragon has, by the inevitability of psychological association, attracted and captured the more primitive storm god, Susa-no-Wo-no-Mikoto. Our main interest, however, is in the story as an account of the origin of the sacred sword of the Imperial Regalia.

The image of the dragon with gleaming eyes and fiery breath, writhing in the storm clouds, with forked lightning passing from his body, is a familiar one in Japanese art and story. The deity of Mimura hill, mentioned in the Nihongi, was a great serpent that gave forth rolling thunder

[3] *The Heike Monogatari*, T.A.S.J., Vol. 49, Part I, page 347.

and whose eyes flammed with fire. His name was Ikadzuchi, "Thunderbolt."

In the summer of 1921 the Namiyoke Shrine of Tsukiji, Tōkyō, placed on public exhibition one of its ancient art treasures, in the form of a large wooden sword mounted into a wooden base carved in the shape of a dragon's tail. The explanation of the priests in charge was that this was the sword taken from the tail of the eight-headed serpent by Susa-no-Wo-no-Mikoto. Down the entire length of the wooden blade, colored in a bright red, ran a vivid lightning flash. The representation was at one and the same time a serpent's tail, a sword and a flash of lightning. The symbolism of this art was true to the old traditions of experience with storm that originally created the myth of the origin of the sacred sword of the Imperial Regalia.

Lightning is elsewhere represented in early Japanese literature as the sword of the gods. The Japanese Sky-father, Izanagi-no-Mikoto carried a weapon that has been identified as a mythological projection of the same primitive experiences as those that—for example—armed the Roman Jupiter and the Greek Zeus with thunder-bolts and the Teutonic Thor with a celestial hammer. The old Japanese lightning god, Futsunushi-no-Kami is pictured in the pages of the Kojiki and the Nihongi as a heavenly sword, and even today in modern Shintō he is worshipped under the same form.

Shintō mythology and symbolism here lead us back to a situation identical with that which we meet in the study of similar materials of other cultures, namely, a vantage point from which we can gauge the depth to which experiences with thunder and lightning storms molded the thinking of primitive man. Nothing in all nature is comparable for vivid reality and awe-inspiring dreadfulness to the fierce flashing of the lightning and the roaring of the thunder against the background of swirling black storm clouds and heavy rain. It was a fact, terribly audible and impressively visible, that a mighty dragon was writhing in the sky, or that the gods were crying aloud in their wrath and striking about in their anger. And in splintered tree,

devastated dwelling or stricken companion savage man had irrefutable evidence that a mysterious club, a stone hammer, or a sword, had leaped out of the sky to deal sternly with him and his possessions.

This idea is reflected in the Shintō conception that the Kusanagi sword is the symbol and the dwelling place of the *aramitama* or "servere spirit" of the goddess of light, Amaterasu-Ōmikami, while the mirror is the dwelling place and symbol of her *nigimitama,* or her "gentle spirit." In other words, according to this idea, the great light-giving divinity of the world manifests herself in two diverse modes, one the beneficent aspect of the sun, the other the severe and terrible aspect of the lightning. This is one of the primary distinctions to be made between the Shrine of the Mirror at Ise and the Shrine of the Sword at Atsuta.

The vicissitudes of the long centuries of Japanese history have little affected the original regalia sword. We have already had occasion to note how, in the time of Emperor Sujin, the Yata Mirror and the Kusanagi Sword were taken from their places on the royal couch-throne and enshrined at the village of Kasanui in Yamato. Then in the next generation the Emperor Suinin once more moved them to a new shrine on the banks of the Isuzu River in Ise. It has also been observed that ever since that time the mirror has remained secure in the inviolable sanctity of the Grand Imperial Shrine of Ise. In the days of Keikō Tennō, who according to tradition ruled from 71 to 130 A.D., the famous hero-prince, Yamato-Takeru-no-Mikoto, when dispatched against the Eastern Barbarians borrowed the sword from its Ise shrine in order to secure its mighty talismanic protection while on a dangerous mission. It was during this expedition that the incident occurred which gave to the sword its name of Grass-mower or Herb-queller. The Prince was enticed by the barbarians to enter alone onto a grassy prairie, whereupon the enemy kindled a ring of fire about him that threatened to destroy him. Then with the divine sword he quickly cut the dry grass nearby and, starting a back fire, saved himself from death. One version of the story says

that in this emergency the sword miraculously leaped from its scabbard and of itself mowed down the herbage about the Prince. From this arose the title Kusanagi—*kusa*, "grass" or "herbage," and *nagi* from *nagu* "to cut" or "to mow."

On his return, Yamato-Takeru-no-Mikoto deposited the sword with the custodian of the Atsuta Shrine in Owari and then set out on a new expedition against the rebels of Ibuki. But now deprived of the mysterious protection of the divine sword, he fell seriously ill, and on reaching Nobono of Ise, died. For a brief time the sword was laid on his empty couch where it worked miracles in favor of those who prayed to it. It was soon restored to its shrine, however.

The sacred sword was never thereafter returned to Ise, but has ever remained enshrined at Atsuta as the "Severe Spirit" of Amaterasu-Ōmikami. Sword worship also has an important place in Shintō rites.

Chapter IV

THE JEWELS

The origin of the Yasaka Curved Jewels is lost amidst the vague unfolding of early Japanese tradition. The knowledge of jewel making and bead cutting is apparently a primitive Japanese possession, antedating all written Japanese history. The pictures that unfold before us in the pages of the Kojiki and the Nihongi are bright here and there with the color of the *magatama,* the characteristic "curved jewels" of Japan. This fact clearly indicates the ancient Japanese love of personal adornment. The old Sky-father, Izanagi, wore a necklace of jewels about his neck. The Sun Goddess had them entwined in her hair and about her wrists. Her famous brother, Susa-no-Wo, likewise wore them in his hair and about his neck. The Nihongi mentions that maidens attending their looms were adorned with "jingling wrist jewels." More rarely they were worn about the ankles. This literary evidence is supported by archeology. The *haniwa,* or clay images which were interred in the sepulchres of the early Japanese rulers as substitutes for human sacrifice, commonly show representations of strings of jewels about the neck, more rarely about the wrists or in the hair.

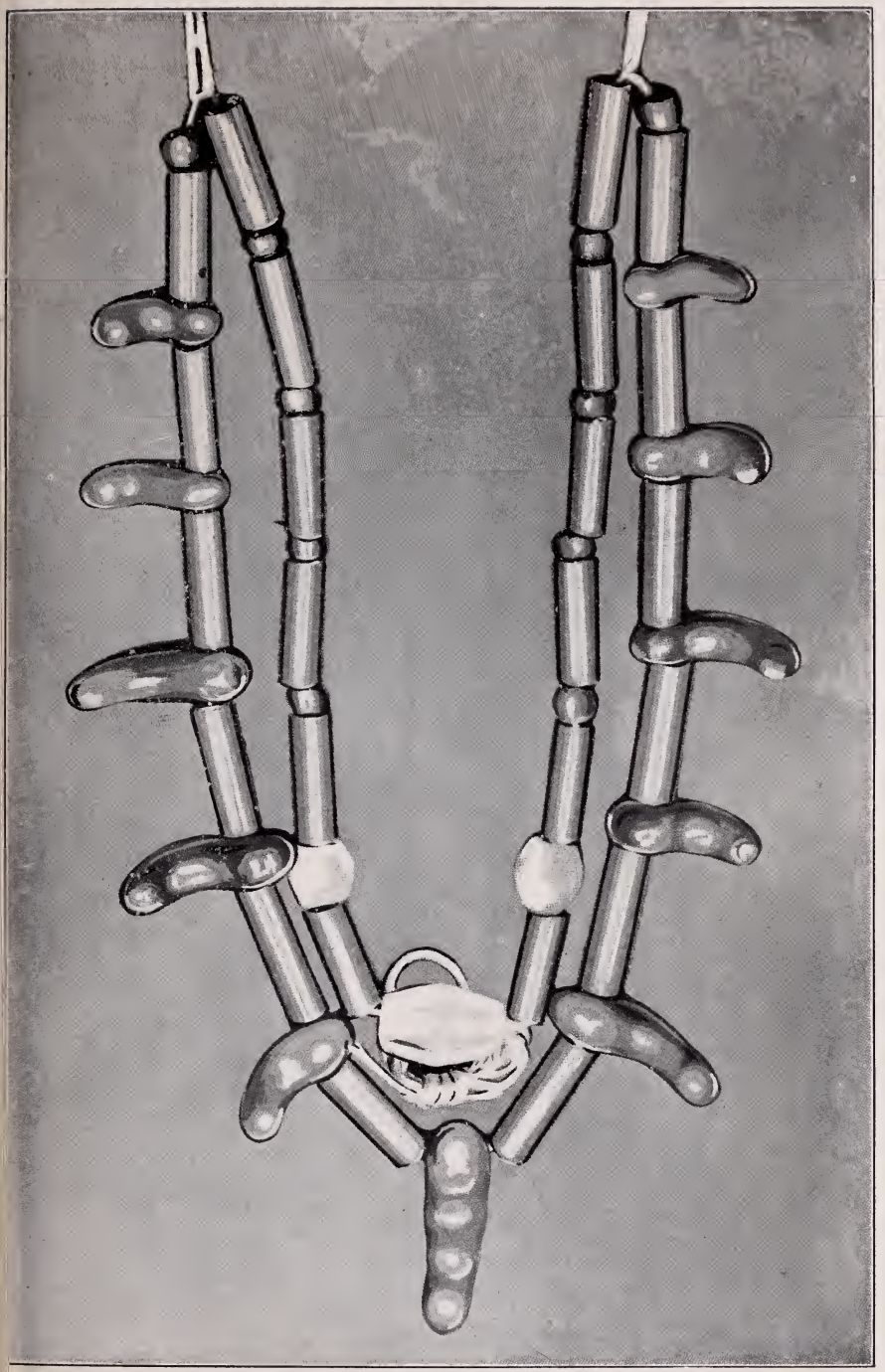
Already a large number of these ornaments of Old Japan have been brought to light. They are of various shapes, sizes and colors, but in general may be classified under three forms, spheroidal, cylindrical, and the kidney shape of the *magatama.* There are marked exceptions to these standard shapes, however. The spheroidal form is slightly flattened along one diameter and pierced for stringing through this shorter dimension. The cylindrical type is perforated along the line of the major axis, and in the earlier usage was commonly strung alternately with the *magatama.* Strings of stone beads employed in Shintō rites today are made up in this same manner with *magatama* and *kudatama,* that is, with curved and cylindrical

beads alternating. The *magatama* itself is perforated, generally at one end, which is slightly enlarged for the purpose. *Magatama* on exhibition in the Imperial Museum of Tōkyō vary in length from approximately one-half of an inch for the smaller varieties to specimens nearly three inches long.

The materials from which the *magatama* were made were as diverse as were their sizes. Agate, jasper, chalcedony, topaz, amethyst, jade, amber, pagodite, serpentine, steatite, talc, baked red clay and fossil wood were all utilized. Porcelain and glass were occasionally worked into objects of this form. Glass was known in Japan as early as the fourth century A.D. Rare specimens of *magatama*, made of a mixture of copper and gold or of copper and silver, have been discovered. As may be inferred from the great variety in materials, the colors of the *magatama* range all the way from the red of carnelian to the violet of amethyst at the other side of the spectrum.

The regalia jewels appear in the Nihongi with a shorter and a longer title. The shorter title, which is the one usually employed, is *Yasakani no magatama. Magatama*, as already indicated means "curved jewel." The name is thus descriptive of form. It signifies the rounded, kidney-shaped objects frequently found in the older Japanese burial sites, as well as elsewhere, and commonly used as personal ornaments by the early ancestors of the race. The element *Yasaka* is variously interpreted. It may mean "ever very bright," or "ever flourishing," or again, it may mean "eight feet (long)," in other words, very long. The meaning first given is to be preferred. *Ni* in the title is difficult. It is written with an ideogram which itself means jewel, and is taken by the Japanese commentators to refer to the color of these particular *magatama*—green, perhaps red. There is a certain amount of evidence in favor of the color green. The shorter title would mean, then, "Ever Very Bright Green Curved Jewels."

The longer title runs thus: *Yasaka no magatama no ihotsu misumaru no tama. Ihotsu* means literally "five



A String of Curved Jewels—*Magatama.*

hundred." It here stands for a large number and may, perhaps, best be translated "manifold." *Mi* is an honorific for which there is no appropriate English translation. *Sumaru* means "collected" or "assembled," that is to say, gathered together on a string in a manner suitable for hanging about the neck or wrist. The complete significance of the longer title then would be: "Ever Very Bright Curved Jewels, The Manifold August Assembled Jewels." The ideogram indicating color does not appear in the original of the longer title.

The data just reviewed serve to indicate the extent to which *magatama* were used as personal ornaments in ancient Japan. The mere fact of a wide-spread social usage, however, will not suffice to explain the fetishistic powers which were believed to reside in the jewels. For this we must seek a deeper cause. That the *magatama* were regarded as having such power is well attested by the literary evidence.

A noteworthy statement of the talismanic powers of the regalia jewels is set forth in the Heike Monogatari, as follows:

"Now the Jewels, the Sword and the Mirror are the Three Sacred Treasures of Our Imperial Throne; and the Jewels have been handed down from the Age of the Gods, and are kept in a marked casket as a talisman to protect each generation of Sovereigns. And this casket is never opened, so that no one has seen what is in it. The Emperor Go-Reizei-In (1046-1068 A.D.) for some reason or other tried to open the casket, but when he took off the lid immediately a white cloud arose from within it. After a while the cloud returned again as it was, and Kii-no-Naiji replaced the lid and tied it down again. Nippon is a small country, but in this thing it surpasses even great ones. If the Emperor himself, lord of the mightiest powers, was not permitted to see it, how should ordinary people do so, much less any others of lesser rank still?"[1]

A survival into the present of the old supernatural associations of the *magatama* may be seen in the fact that in the Lūchū Islands the female medium, called by the name of *norokumoi*, still wears *magatama* about her neck.

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[1] *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, First Series, Vol. 49, Pt. 1, p. 343.

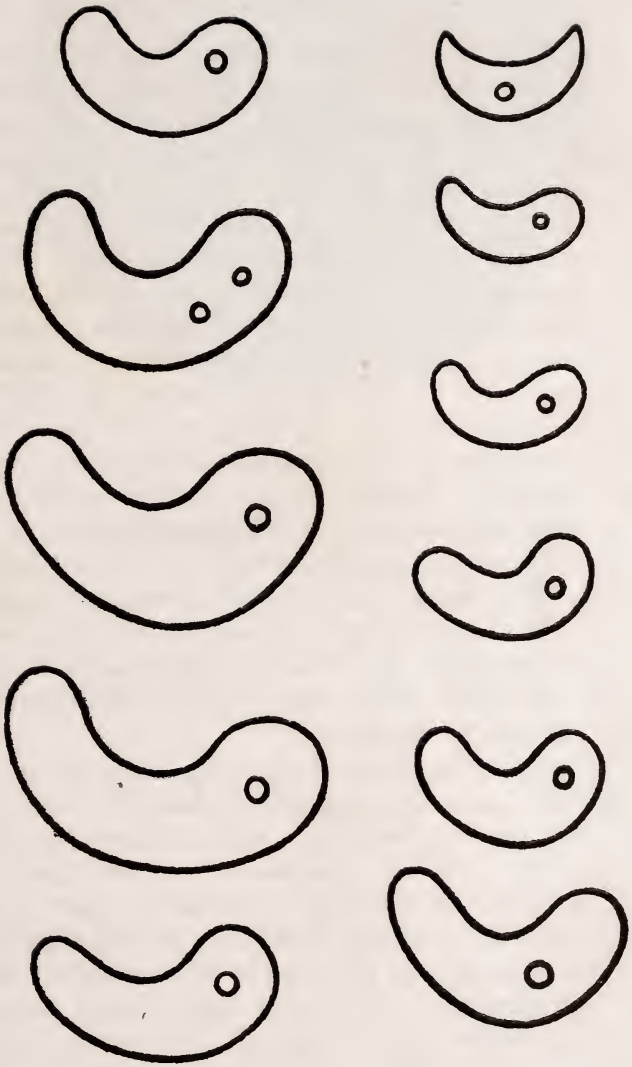
We know also that from a very early date the investment with the prerogatives of royal office in Japan was accompanied by the handing over of *magatama*. This fact is indicated not merely in the account already noted, of the presentation by the Sun Goddess of the three regalia emblems to Ninigi-no-Mikoto when the latter was sent down from Heaven to found the Japanese Empire, but also appears in connection with a story which at least in the mythological sequence is even older than the Ninigi-no-Mikoto episode. After the Sky-father, Izanagi-no-Mikoto, has brought into being the Sun Goddess, the Moon God and the Storm God, the Kojiki record makes him exclaim, "I, begetting child after child, have at my final begetting gotten three illustrious children." Saying this—to continue the citation from the Kojiki—"at once jinglingly taking off and shaking the jewel-string forming his august necklace he bestowed it on the Heaven-Shining-Great-August Deity, saying, 'Do Thine Augustness rule the Plain-of-Heaven.' With this charge he bestowed it on her."[2]

The transfer of authority from the Sky-father to the Sun Goddess was plainly regarded as incomplete without the simultaneous handing over of the *magatama* necklace. It is difficult to see how the myth could have developed in this particular manner without a formative social practice behind it.

As already stated, the probable meaning of *Yasakani no magatama* is "Ever Very Bright Green Curved Jewels." The descriptive elements in the name possibly have reference to the appearance of the substance from which certain such jewels were made. This reference both to brightness of appearance and to curved shape may have other associations, however. There is a certain amount of fairly good evidence in support of the hypothesis that the *magatama* represents the crescent moon,[3] and that in the primitive situation that produced it, it was regarded as filled with the strange powers that emanated from the moon. The final

[2] Chamberlain, *Kojiki*. T.A.S.J., Volume X, Supplement, p. 43.

[3] This is not inconsistent with the fact that the early Japanese represented the *full* moon by the mirror. See Aston, *Nihongi*, Vol. I, p. 20.



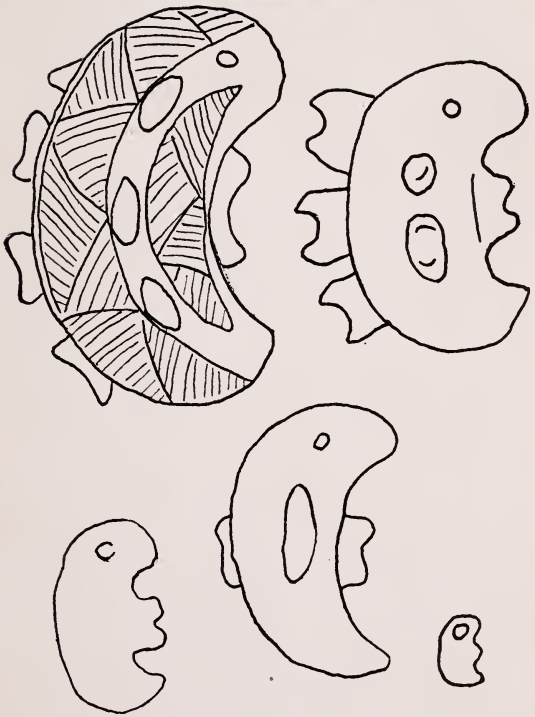
Magatama.

Sketched from originals in Tōkyō Imperial Museum.

explanation of its use as a protective talisman in the regalia is in sympathetic magic.

In the first place the shape itself strongly suggests the new moon. The current theory of the origin of the *magatama* is that the prototype is to be found in the tooth of some wild animal, pierced at the larger end preparatory to being placed on a string or thong and attached to the human body as a trophy expressive of self-esteem at the conquest of a savage beast and as means of securing to the wearer a magical transferrence of the strength and cunning once resident in the wild animal. The theory was first propounded by Dr. Shōgorō Tsuboi, and has been widely accepted by Japanese scholars. It has the advantage of offering a reasonable explanation of the magical qualities of the *magatama*, and also of having various confirmatory parallels in other cultures. Similar trophy amulets made of the teeth of wild animals are not uncommon in savage communities. They have been discovered in Europe, Africa and elsewhere. The practice prevails still among the savages of Formosa. In the primitive philosophy that underlies the use of such ornaments the wearer is regarded as both protected by the spirit of the slain animal and enlarged in personal prowess by its *mana*.

The magical qualities of the *magatama* can as easily be explained on other grounds, however. The most decisive objection to the tooth-trophy theory is that the standard shape of the *magatama* is not that of a tooth. It is, on the other hand, almost an exact crescent. It is true that the ordinary form has one end slightly enlarged and rounded but this can be best explained as due, not to an attempt to reproduce a tooth-shaped prototype, but merely to the requirements of perforation necessary to arranging on a string. In those *magatama* in which the place of perforation approaches the center of the stone, the two ends tend to become symmetrical. Such types suggest nothing so much as the crescent moon. They can hardly be mistaken for anything else. In Babylonian religious symbolism a kidney-shaped object, which Jeremias has al-



ABOVE—Ancient Mirror, reverse side.
BELOW—Magatama, of a variety known as "Child-bearing Curved Jewels" (*Komochi Magatama*). Small magatama are attached to the large mother stone. Note the close approximation of the mother stone to the shape of a kidney, or a crescent.

Diagram from *Kōkogaku Zasshi* (Archaeological Journal), July, 1928.

ready suggestively compared with the Shintō *magatama*, was the emblem of the new moon.[4]

Another noteworthy point is to be found in the important place which the *magatama* holds in the light-making ritual which the early literature represents as having been performed at the time of the withdrawal of the Sun Goddess to the Rock Cave of Heaven. This evidence strongly supports the inference that the *magatama* was originally a moon symbol. According to the Kojiki the *magatama* of the Imperial Regalia first appeared as part of the artifice for enticing the Sun Goddess out of the cave. As already explained, the myth of the withdrawal of Amaterasu-Ōmikami and the ceremony wherewith her return was effected are plainly based on an obscuration of the sun. This catastrophe could only be met by means of an elaborate ceremonial that included powerful means. The significance of the mirror in this connection is unquestioned. The old records say that it represented the sun. Are not the jewels necessarily in consonnance with this symbolism? If so the significance of this old Japanese light ritual become doubly clear. The offended goddess was magically recalled by the display of the emblems of the two great light-giving bodies of heaven, the sun and the moon.

A third item of evidence pointing to a moon origin for the *magatama* is to be found in the use of jewels in Old Japan as devices wherewith to magically control the tides. The Nihongi mentions a tide-flowing jewel and a tide-ebbing jewel; that is, jewels which when dipped over the ocean mysteriously caused the waters either to flow in or to recede. The original story here referred to recounts the incidents of a quarrel between Hiko-hoho-demi-no-Mikoto and his elder brother over a fish-hook, and, in explanation of certain aid which the Sea-god rendered the former against the latter, says, "He (the Sea-god) further presented to him

[4] In this connection Dr. Alfred Jeremias in his *Allgemeine Religions Geschichte*, p. 199 says, "Auch die rätselhafte gebogene Edelsteinkugel, die die Gestalt einen Niere hat (verdoppelt bildet sie das Wappen von Korëa), möchte ich als kosmisches Zeichen deuten, und zwar wiederum als Mondsymbol unter Hinweis auf die euphratensische Astralsymbolik, die den Mond in einer bestimmten zunehmenden Phase als „Niere" deutet.

(Hiko-hoho-demi-no-Mikoto) the jewel of the flowing tide and the jewel of the ebbing tide and instructed him, saying:—'If thou dost dip the tide-flowing jewel, the tide will suddenly flow, and therewithal thou shalt drown thine elder brother. But in case thy elder brother should repent and beg forgiveness, if, on the contrary, thou dip the tide-ebbing jewel, the tide will spontaneously ebb, and therewithal thou shalt save him!' "[5]

The above story suggests that the early Japanese ancestors had already at a remote period of their history observed a connection between the tides and the moon. This deduction is rendered practically certain by a brief passage in one of the Nihongi variants which informs us that after the Sky-father, Izanagi-no-Mikoto, had created the Sun Goddess, the Moon God and the Storm God, the father commanded his second illustrious child, "Do thou, Tsuki-yomi-no-Mikoto, rule the eight-hundred-fold tides of the ocean plain." This gives us fairly definite information regarding the early existence of a belief that the moon ruled the tides. We also have before us evidence of the prevalence of a belief that certain jewels controled the tides. The evidence supports the conclusion of a connection between moon and jewels. Evidently at an early period the Japanese forefathers attempted to set up a control of the ocean tides by means of an image of the moon. To be sure the myth does not say that the devices used were *magatama*. They were jewels (*tama*) of some sort, perhaps spherical, perhaps crescent shaped. Nevertheless the evidence does lend support to the inference that jewels in some form, were used as moon emblems, in an ancient ceremonial technique for directing the movements of the tides.

In the fourth place, a certain amount of corroboration of the theory here advanced may be derived from argument based on the name of the creator of the regalia jewels, according to the mythology. The origin of certain *magatama* worn by Susa-no-Wo-no-Mikoto and later presented to the Sun Goddess, as well as the origin of those used in the light

[5] Aston, *Nihongi*, Vol. I, p. 94.

A Mirror, a Sword and a String of Jewels are elevated on poles with streamers and Sakaki attached, and placed before the Shrines at important Shintō Festivals.

ritual performed at the time of the withdrawal of Amaterasu-Ōmikami to the Rock-cave of Heaven, is attributed by the Nihongi to a being called Ama-no-Akaru-dama, "The Bright Jewel of Heaven," who was the child of Izanagi, the Sky-father. What is this bright jewel of heaven, born of the the great sky, if not the moon? The Kogoshūi gives the name of the original possessor of the regalia jewels as Kushi-Akaru-Tama-no-Mikoto, that is, "Strange Bright Jewel Deity," or perhaps "Comb Bright Jewel Deity." If the latter rendering may be relied on, we may perhaps go a step further and find in the name a reference to the new moon under the figure of the crescent shaped Japanese comb.

A further point which may be noted briefly is found in the practice which still obtains at the important festivals of modern Shintō of mounting replicas of the mirror, the sword and the jewels on long poles and elevating them before the sanctuaries of the Kami. Is this a ceremonial survival of an old idea that these objects are cosmical symbols and as such properly lifted toward heaven on poles? Students of Japanese mythology will recall that Amaterasu-Ōmikami after her creation by the Sky-father and the Earth-mother, was sent up into the sky by the Pole of Heaven. The elevation rite which has survived in Shintō to the very present is probably older than the myth, and the existing practice of raising aloft the jewels and the sword on poles before the shrines gives support to the conclusion that these objects are likewise cosmical representations. Beneath the emblems are hung streamers which are definitely known to represent clouds. Emblems of the moon and of the sun are raised aloft on banners in connection with the enthronement ceremony proper held in the Shishin Den (also called the Shishiiden) of the Kyōto Imperial Palace. These particular devices undoubtedly have a Chinese origin. Their ready adoption into the Japanese enthronement ceremonial, however, may possibly be accounted for by the pre-existence of an identical symbolism on the Japanese side in the form of the *magatama* cresent and the mirror.

A final argument in support of the interpretation of

symbolism given above, and one that applies to all three emblems alike, appears in the fact that the early mythological statement of the assignment of authority to the Kami of Heaven and Earth makes a three-fold allocation of spheres of dominion among the same three deities whom we have found to be typified by the regalia emblems. The deities whom the foregoing analysis has discovered to have been, according to mythology, the original possessors of the regalia are the very ones in whom are vested the primitive rights of sovereignty. Accompanying this is the further fact that when, according to tradition, the Japanese empire was founded by the determination to send the Imperial Grandson, Ninigi-no-Mikoto, down onto the islands to subdue them and reign over them, this tripartite authority was reunited and expressed in the transfer to the Imperial Grandson of the three regalia emblems. These two facts would appear to belong together. In other words, the handing over of the three-fold regalia to Ninigi-no-Mikoto finds meaning in what must have been a common belief during the period in which the myth came into existence, that each one of the emblems expressed the sovereign rights of one of the three realms into which the dominions of the Heavenly Kami were formerly divided. These three realms were those of sun, moon and of storm, each one of which had its own visible symbol. The argument is perhaps worth a little more detail.

Following the Nihongi and the Kojiki accounts, we find that the authority of the Heavenly Kami was first bestowed on the Sky-father, Izanagi and his spouse, the Earth-mother, Izanami. These two were sent down from Takama-ga-Hara on a mission of primeval creation. There are good reasons for believing, however, that the earliest Japanese cosmogony attempted to carry speculation back no further than to the activities of the Sky-father and the Earth-mother. If this is true, the oldest conception of the source of authority must have found its center in these two deities and not in the more indefinite, and probably later, figures, that precede them in the extant accounts. A notion of a tripartite division of authority in the god world must have

developed early, however. It appears to have been directly given to the early Japanese ancestors as the immediate result of their experiences with phenomena of the sky—with sun, moon and lightning-bearing storm. This experience received traditional expression in the form of the mythological statement that upon the birth of three illustrious children, the Sky-father divided his authority into three parts. To Amaterasu-Ōmikami, the goddess of the sun and the bright sky, was given dominion over the day; to Tsukiyomi-no-Mikoto, the god of the moon, was given authority over the night; and to Susa-no-Wo-no-Mikoto, the god of storm, was given the rule of the wide Sea Plain. Each division was given to a great Kami, and it would be merely a matter of ordinary observation to the myth-makers that power and authority in each one of these realms was concentrated in a great manifestation of light, that is, in sun, in moon and in lightning flash. Representations of these originals would necessarily be saturated with like potencies. They would be the very essence of dominion and power. The spirit of the Sun Goddess who ruled the upper world of the bright sky was in the mirror; the *mana* of Tsukiyomi who ruled the night sky was in the *magatama;* and Susa-no-Wo-no-Mikoto who, like Poseidon of the Greeks, ruled the waves as well as the upper air of stormy wind and lightning, re-lived in the sacred sword.

We can understand from this something of the significance that must have attached, in the minds of the ancient Japanese, to the lodgment with the royal family of the Three Sacred Celestial Emblems. When Ninigi-no-Mikoto was sent down to the Central Land of Reed Plains to possess them and rule over them, all authority of heaven and earth was reunited and centered in him. In the three-fold regalia which he carried were concentrated the mystic power of all heavenly dominion and, at the same time, the wondrous divine protection of the Kami. These three emblems originally belonged to powerful deities. They were full of the *mana* by which these deities ruled. The Japanese rulers received their authorization to reign from the Kami of Heaven. Their regalia were the regalia of the gods.

We can see in this an asseveration of the claim—albeit in mythological language—of the early rulers of Yamato to an unqualified authority, an authority that extended not only over the Central Land but also over Day and Night and Storm and Sea.

The old records repeatedly speak of the Japanese Imperial Dynasty as *Hitsugi,* that is as a "Sun Succession," or better, perhaps, a "Light Succession." *Tsugi* means "succession," and *hi* means interchangeably "light," "sun" or "fire." The Emperor is the offspring of the Sun. He is the child of Light. We can see from this how inevitable it is that his regalia consist of the emblems of Light.

The current explanation of this ancient association of Imperial power with light and sun makes use of a theory of metaphor. The Emperor is to his people as the sun is to the universe, or as light is to the world. Each in his respective world is unique, majestic and unapproachable. In the final analysis, to speak of the Emperor as *Hitsugi,* from the point of view of such a theory, is merely a convenient and vivid form of speech for expressing his greatness.

If the analysis we have carried out in the preceding pages may be relied on, we may conclude that the idea of a sun or light descent for the Emperor, and at the same time for all true members of the Japanese race, carries us back to a totemistic conception of human origin and relationship. The Japanese are children of Light, that is of physical light. Theirs is a light totem, and since the sun is the overpowering representaton of light, we may say a sun totem. The final explanation of this mystery will probably not be found until we have secured an acceptable explanation of totemism, which is not yet. We are here carried back to those dim and incomprehensible regions of primitive thought in which the distinctions of human and non-human are lost in a great merge of cosmic relationship, wherein man regards himself literally as the child of plant, animal or heavenly body. The Japanese conception of relationship to the sun must have come out of such a remote stratum of folk-belief. The irrefutable proof of that relationship and the visible attesta-

tion of its reality are offered by the Emperor through his possession of the three-fold regalia.

We have examined somewhat in detail the origin and nature of the Imperial Japanese regalia. We have found therein striking illustration of the principle that objects forming the insignia of early kingship tend to partake of a magical nature. They mysteriously carry over the divine potencies by which the dynasty is maintained and miraculously protect the ruler and the state.

The history of the Japanese regalia also illustrates another important principle of human social evolution, namely, that objects and rites whose original functions are magical become, at more advanced cultural levels, the symbols of higher ethical ideals. The three objects of the regalia thus have become the outward representations of the moral qualities of the good ruler, while the fact of the uninterrupted existence of the original regalia has become the symbol and guarantee of the eternity of the Imperial Throne. Kitabatake Chikafusa writing in the early part of the fourteenth century says: "Heaven and earth from of old change not; sun and moon alter not their light; still more do the Three Sacred Treasures endure in the world —and that which is eternal is the Imperial Throne which perpetuates our nation."

The ethical interpretations that have been attached to the regalia are varied and beautiful. The mirror stands for purity, righteousness, integrity and wisdom; the jewels for benevolence, gentleness, affection and obedience; the sword for valor, sagacity, justice and firmness. In the historical representations these qualities have obviously been arranged in groups of three. The best known group is a restatement of the Confucian trinity of Wisdom, Benevolence and Courage.

The later history of the replica sword and mirror and the original necklace requires a concluding word.

For some eight hundred years after the Emperor Suinin built the first of the Ise shrines for housing the original sword and mirror, the replica of these two objects together with the original jewels were handed down from Emperor

to Emperor as the indispensable authentication of royal authority and as the protecting amulets of the throne. After the close of the Heian Period in the middle of the ninth century A.D., the replica of the mirror was accorded a special place of enshrinement in a building of the Imperial Palace called the Naiji Dokoro, or "Place of Inner Attendance," so-called from the name *Naiji* given certain female attendants of the Emperor. This is another name for the Kashiko Dokoro, or "The Place of Awe," under which title the sanctuary of the mirror is still preserved in the Imperial Palace of Tōkyō.

With the provision of a special tabernacle for the replica mirror, the part which it played in the enthronement ceremonies underwent a change. It was now no longer removed from its place of enshrinement to appear along with the sword and the jewels as the insignia of royal prerogative, but became the Holy Place before which solemn announcement of succession was made to the spirit of Amaterasu-Ōmikami. This is the position which the mirror occupies in the enthronement rites at the present time. The jewels and the sword were not enshrined, but continued to be handed down from the personal custody of one Emperor to another. They were, and are still, kept in a special room in the Palace called the *Kenji no Ma*, "The Sword and Jewel Room." The ravages of time have brought a full share of injury to the replica regalia. In the year 960 A.D. a palace fire occurred in which the mirror was slightly damaged. Since this date for upwards of twenty times the replica sword and mirror, and the original jewels, have met with mishap in fire and earthquake. Two of these fires are particularly noteworthy for the grave consequences which they brought especially to the mirror. In the year 1005 A.D. a conflagration destroyed the Naiji Dokoro. The mirror, sadly damaged by the heat, was rescued from the ashes of its former sanctuary. Again during the Chōkyū Era, in the year 1040, the mirror was injured by fire, this time so badly that only a portion of the former whole was left. In this mutilated shape it has been handed down from generation to genera-

tion to the very present. Reverence for the ancient emblem as made under Suijin Tennō has precluded the supposed profanation involved in its repair.

At the height of the civil war of the twelfth century the youthful Emperor, Antoku, guarded by Taira-no-Munemori, fleeing from the powerful Minamoto, came to Dan-no-Ura, near the modern Shimonoseki, bearing the sacred regalia with him. Here in 1185 was fought the bloody naval battle of Dan-no-Ura, and Antoku, clasped in the arms of his grandmother and bearing with him the jewels and the sword, perished in the waves. One version of the battle states that the mirror was likewise cast into the sea, but later recovered by Minamoto soldiers. Another version relates that the mirror was found afloat in a boat and handed over to Minamoto Yoshitsune. In any case it was fortunately recovered and ultimately restored safely to Kyōto. Until the Restoration of 1868 it was preserved in the Naiji Dokoro of the Imperial Palace of that city. It is now permanently enshrined in the Ummei Den of the Imperial Palace of Tōkyō. The only exception to this practice is at the time of the great enthronement ceremonies when it is carried back for a brief period to its old home in Kyōto.

As we have just noted, both the jewels and the sword were cast into the sea at the battle of Dan-no-Ura. Thanks to the buoyancy of the wooden casket in which they were contained, the jewels floated to the surface and were recovered. The sword was forever lost. For the brief period from 1190 to 1210 a sword called *Hi no Goza no Goken*, or the Sword of the Imperial Day Room, provided from the Imperial collection, was used in the enthronement rites. Early in the reign of Emperor Tsuchimikado a priest of the Grand Shrine of Ise, by the name of Ōnakatomi Chikatoshi, received a revelation from the Sun Goddess to the effect that a sacred sword from the Hōden, or Treasure House, of this shrine should be set aside for the enthronement ceremonies. Beginning with the year 1210 A.D. and extending right down to the present, successive Emperors have made use of this sword.

Between 1331 and 1393, during the period in which the rule of Japan was divided between the Southern and the Northern Courts, the true regalia remained in the possession of the former line, first at Oki and then at Yoshino. Even after the reunion of the two lines partisans of the southern branch repeatedly attempted to revive the fortunes of their former suzerains and in 1443 under the leadership of Kusunoki Masahide they stole the sword and the jewels, and barely missed making off with the mirror as well. The sword was left at the Kiyomidzu Temple of Kyōto and speedily found its way back to the Imperial Palace. Kusunoki, in attendance on the Imperial Prince, Takahide, fled to Mount Hiei. He was quickly defeated by the royal forces sent against him and both he and Takahide lost their lives. The jewels passed to the custody of certain members of the Kusunoki family at Yoshino, under whose guardian care were the two Imperial Princes Kitayama-no-Miya and Tadayoshi-Ō. These two Princes were regarded as in possession *de jure* of the jewels. Later the jewels were handed over to the Imperial Prince Takamasa at Yoshino, and when this Prince was assassinated they were restored to the legitimate Emperor Gohanazono. This was in 1458. Since this date they have remained secure in the possession of the reigning Emperor.

In concluding this outline of the history of the regalia we may observe by way of summary that the originals have in every case been preserved from the period of indefinite mythological beginnings right down to the present. This remarkable fact is due largely to the extraordinary sense of responsibility that has been felt toward them as the mystic insignia of the gods. They have been accorded the treatment of *Kami*. The Yata Mirror is enshrined as the *Shintai* or "Divine Body" of the Grand Shrine of Ise; The Kusanagi Sword is the *Shintai* of the great shrine of Atsuta near Nagoya. The Yasakani Curved Jewels remain in the immediate possession of the Imperial Family. The sword made by Sujin Tennō and used for some twelve hundred years in the accession ceremonies has been irrevocably lost. A sword given by the priests of the Grand Im-

perial Shrine of Ise has been substituted for it in the enthronement ceremonies. The mirror made by Sujin Tennō at the same time that the sword was cast still exists, but in damaged form, having only partially survived the wreck of the centuries. Thus in the actual enthronement ceremonies of the present the regalia emblems that are made use of are, the original jewels, the mirror cast in the time of Sujin Tennō, and a sword given the Imperial Family by the priests of Ise in 1210 A.D.

The following table summarizes the salient points of the history of the regalia. Objects now used in the Enthronement Ceremonies are marked with double stars (**).

THE THREE SACRED IMPERIAL TREASURES

I. Originals of unknown origin. They appear in the mythological period. Associated originally with magic as emblems of sun, moon and lightning.

A. The Yata Mirror—Enshrined at Ise Dai Jingū.

B. The Kusanagi Sword—Enshrined at Atsuta Jingū.

** C. The Yasakani Curved Jewels—Kept in the Tōkyō Imperial Palace, in the Kenji no Ma (The Sword and Seal Room).

II. Replica made by Sujin Tennō.
(Replica of Magatama were not made).

** A. Mirror, damaged by fire—Enshrined in the Kashiko Dokoro of the Tōkyō Imperial Palace.

B. Sword. Lost in the Battle of Dan-no-Ura (1185 A.D.).

** (Since 1210 A.D. a sword from the Grand Imperial Shrine of Ise has been used in the Enthronement Ceremonies).

Chapter V

THE CEREMONIES IN OUTLINE

The handing on and receiving of the three Sacred Treasures as the symbols of Imperial Succession is the most important transaction connected with accession to the Japanese Throne. From remote past to very present Japan has consistently guarded and fulfilled this rite. In the possession of the regalia the authority to rule and the legitimacy of the succession are expressed. Thus the act of handing on these three objects to the new ruler is properly considered the most important of all Japanese rites. In the early periods of Japanese history the enthronement ceremonies in their entirety, centered in the transfer of the regalia, and were carried out immediately on the demise of an Emperor, with simple and impressive forms.

In old Japan of the pre-Nara period, at the time of the accession of a new ruler, a new palace was built, containing a throne, and on this the Emperor took his place with the Three Sacred Treasures in his possession. This act of enthronement was followed by a season of feasting. The "palace" of those remote days was merely an enlarged reproduction of the hut of the ordinary person. It finds its modern survival among the more simply constructed Shintō shrines. A reproduction of this ancient Imperial home in a somewhat modified form appears in the modern enthronement ceremonies in connection with the buildings of the "Great New Food Festival" (Daijō Sai). The primitive Japanese home, the peasant's hut and the Emperor's palace alike, had earthen floors. The sleeping place was a raised wooden couch, called the *toko* or sleeping floor. This old dais still exists in every properly constructed Japanese house of the present under the old name of *toko no ma* or "sleeping place." It is now no longer used either for sleep or rest, but is reserved as a place of honor. It is there one sees the simple decorations of the home, a hanging scroll on the wall, a vase of carefully arranged flowers, or some family treas-

ure. In primitive Japan also it was more than a sleeping place. In the floorless Japanese hut the principal *toko no ma* of the house was peculiarly the master's private spot, the place of highest honor, not only where the master rested but where he kept his weapons and his personal or household treasures. The couch of the Great Chief of the people was accordingly the Throne of the land. It was here on the Royal Couch-throne that the Three Sacred Treasures were kept. When the Ruler died they were moved from the old Couch-throne to the new one.

With the passage of the centuries the simple enthronement rites of the primitive period have grown into an extended series of complicated ceremonies that begin immediately after the death of an Emperor and which are not completed until two, and sometimes three or more years, after the accession of the new Ruler.

It is impossible to make adequate translation into English of the titles of even the most important of the elaborate ceremonies wherewith the Emperor of Japan consummates and formally commemorates his accession to the Imperial Throne. The reason is, of course, that the exact equivalents of the ceremonies themselves are not to be found in European usage. For the entire group the terms "Coronation Ceremonies" and "Enthronement Ceremonies" have received a certain amount of official sanction in recent English translations of government documents. The former translation gained currency at the time of the accession of the late Emperor, Taishō Tennō, in 1915; the latter translation has found considerable favor in connection with the celebration of the accession of the reigning monarch. "Coronation" hardly seems strictly correct in rites wherein the crown is conspicuously absent. It is true that headdresses of ancient style are worn by the participants in the modern ceremonies. At certain periods of the past even more elaborate headdresses were used; but Japanese enthronement rites have never included anything that corresponds to the European method of conferring royal authority by the act of crowning.

It is true that in the ceremony held in the Shishin Den of the Kyōto Imperial Palace the Emperor actually mounts

a throne and makes formal announcement to his subjects and to the world at large of the fact of his accession. This is properly an enthronement ceremony, yet it is only one among a number of important state observances that mark the celebrations. "Accession Ceremonies" has been suggested, but this designation is hardly possible as a general term in view of the fact that the accession is a single definite transaction carried out immediately on the demise of one ruler and the transfer of authority to his successor. "Enthronement Ceremonies" is permissible if taken in the sense of all the forms and rites that appear in connection with the exaltation of the Imperial Heir to the prerogatives of the Throne, including the original legal accession and all later state announcements and commemorations thereof.

The entire group of observances, held both to consummate and to commemorate a new accession to the Imperial Throne of Japan, is designated Gotai-Ten and Gotai-Rei, both of which titles may be rendered with fair accuracy by the translation "The Great Ceremonies." There are three major movements in the Gotai-Ten. The first is the so-called Senso[1] (lit. "Tread Throne") which is the legal accession to the position of Emperor; the second is the Sokui-Rei[2] (lit. "Ascend Throne Ceremony") in which the Emperor ascends the throne of the Shishin Den of the Kyōto Palace and makes formal announcement of his accession; the third is the Daijō Sai[3] (lit. "Great New Food Festival") in which certain very ancient religious rites of communion with the great Kami are performed by the Emperor. These three movements are followed by state banquets, Royal visits to the Grand Imperial Shrine at Ise, and to Imperial Mausolea, and the Royal return to Tōkyō and final ceremonies before the Palace Shrines.

As stated in an earlier section, Article Ten of the Law of the Imperial Household of Japan provides that immediately on the death of the Emperor the Imperial Heir shall ascend the Throne and shall acquire the Divine Treasures

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[1] 踐祚
[2] 即位禮
[3] 大嘗祭

of the Imperial Ancestors. Ascension of the Throne, as here used in the Imperial Household Law, means assumption of the privileges and responsibilities of the position Imperial head of nation and government. This Senso, or act of accession, took place in the case of the reigning Emperor in the early hours of the morning of December 25, 1926. On the same day was carried out the formal ceremony of the Transfer of the Sword and the Jewels (*Kenji Togyo no Gi*) to the new Emperor. Imperial Household Law further requires that immediately on the accession of a new ruler the chief ritualist of the Court shall announce the transfer of Imperial authority before the Shrine of the Sacred Regalia Mirror (Kashiko Dokoro) in the Ummei Den, before the Sanctuary of the Spirits of the Imperial Ancestors (Kōrei Den) and before the Shrine of the Gods of Heaven and Earth (Shingi Den) within the precincts of the Imperial Palace of Tōkyō. These announcements were made for the reigning Emperor on December 25, 1926. Three days later (Dec. 28) the Emperor received in audience the chief representatives of the nation and communicated to them by Imperial Rescript the fact of the accession. All of these transactions are officially regarded as part of the Senso ceremonies. It is further provided in Imperial Household Law that at the accession of a new Emperor the name of the era shall be immediately changed.

The dates of the second and the third of the Great Ceremonies named above, that is, the Sokui-Rei, or the Throne Ascending Ceremony and the Daijō Sai, or the Great New Food Festival, are determined by Imperial Household Law. After the death of the ruler there follows one full year of national mourning. During this period it is impossible to celebrate the new accession to the Imperial Throne. Furthermore, it is required that rice used as food offering in the Daijō Sai be planted, grown, and harvested after the expiration of the year of official mourning. It must be rice without the contamination of death on any portion of its growth or preparation. It thus transpires that, at the earliest, nearly two years must elapse between the time of the

demise of one Emperor and the national celebration of the accession of his successor.

This separation of the legal accession to the Throne from the formal celebration and proclamation of the fact to the world, by a long period of mourning and preparation does not at all represent original Japanese procedure. In old Japan no separation whatsoever was made between the Senso or accession and the Sokui or the celebration and announcement thereof. The two were formerly part of one and the same ceremony, taking place at one and the same time. From Emperor Jimmu to Empress Saimei (655-661 A.D.), that is, for thirty-seven generations of rulers, there was no distinction between the Senso and the Sokui. But with the next Emperor, Tenchi Tennō, (662-671 A.D.), Chinese influence manifested itself to such an extent that ceremonies and procedures in celebration of the accession became almost altogether Chinese. Under this influence there developed the custom of separating the Sokui ceremonies from the Senso by a considerable period of time. Another factor which undoubtedly promoted the division into two parts of what was originally but one ceremony was the practice of Imperial retirement and the elevation of a successor to the Throne while the former occupant was still living. A single accession ceremony was not sufficient to properly emphasize and make known to the nation the fact of a new succession and for this latter purpose an elaborate Sokui celebration was developed, according to Chinese forms.

Meanwhile the Great New Food Festival has ever remained purely Japanese. Herein are carried out the most extraordinary procedures to be found anywhere on earth today in connection with the enthronement of any monarch. In the dead of night, alone, except for the service of two female attendants, the Emperor, as the High Priest of the nation, performs solemn rites that carry us back to the very beginnings of Japanese history, rites which are so old that the very reasons for their performance have long since been forgotten. Concealed in this remarkable midnight service we can find the original Japanese enthronement ceremony. Here appears a second throne, older by centuries than that used in

the Shishin Den ceremony, and proclaiming by every line of its couch-like construction and by every detail of its surroundings that it is the True Throne of the old Yamato Sumeragi. Thus we discover two thrones and two great enthronement ceremonies.

As already noted Imperial Household Law specifies that the Enthronement Ceremonies shall be held in the city of Kyōto (Article Eleven). The Law does not express a uniform historical practice in this matter. The ceremonies antedate he founding of Kyōto itself. From the remote beginnings of Japanese history down to the time of Kōnin Tennō (770-781 A.D.) the practice prevailed of founding a new capital with each new ruler, and the site of the enthronement ceremonies varied accordingly. Then for more than a thousand years after the founding of Heian-kyō (Kyōto) by Kwammu Tennō in 794 A.D. this city preserved its place as the capital of the nation and except for interruptions in the periods of civil wars, was the scene of the enthronement rites of successive Emperors. The accession to the throne of the Meiji Emperor took place in Kyōto in 1868. When, ten years later, this revered monarch revisited the home of his boyhood, he is said to have observed the apparent decline in the fortunes of the city, and mindful of the close associations maintained between this city and the Imperial House for more than a thousand years, he expressed the wish that the enthronement ceremonies of the future Emperors of Japan should be held only in Kyōto. This wish was later made into Imperial Household Law, and with the accession of Taishō Tennō actually carried into effect.

Imperial Household regulations covering the enthronement ceremonies of the reigning Emperor were promulgated on December 30, 1927. They are a revision of regulations issued February 11, 1909, which are in turn partially based on those of much earlier times. The following paragraphs summarize with a certain minimum of explanation the pertinent sections of these regulations.

After the rice crop of the year following the close of the period of national mourning has been gathered in, the

Sokui Rei and the Daijō Sai are performed. The regulations specify that the season in which the ceremonies shall take place shall be between the end of autumn and the beginning of winter. This brings the celebrations into the month of November. The Daijō Sai is performed immediately after the close of the Sokui Rei. This holding of the two ceremonies in conjunction is a very recent procedure, first carried into effect at the enthronement of Emperor Taishō in 1915. Prior to this the two were separated by a period of months and sometimes of years. In the case of the Meiji Emperor the Sokui Ceremonies were held in Kyōto, October 16, 1868. The Daijō Sai was held in Tōkyō on December 28, 1871. The usual procedure regarding determination of dates in ancient times was as follows. If the Sokui Rei occurred at any time during the first seven months of the year, the Daijō Sai was held in the winter immediately following. If, however, the Sokui Rei came in the second half of the year, between the beginning of August and the end of December, then the Daijō Sai was not observed until the second winter season following the Sokui Rei.

As soon as the exact dates of these two ceremonies are fixed they are announced above the joint signatures of the Minister of the Imperial Household Department and of the other Ministers of State. The dates are also immediately made known before the Shrine of the Regalia Mirror and before the Sanctuary of the Spirits of the Imperial Ancestors and the Shrine of the Deities of Heaven and Earth. Imperial messengers are sent at the same time to make like announcements at the Grand Imperial Shrine of Amaterasu-Ōmikami at Ise and at the Mausoleum of the first Emperor, Jimmu Tennō, and also at the tombs of the four Emperors immediately preceding the reigning Emperor. Two days after the dispatching of these messengers, the Emperor sends gifts of fine cloth to Ise and to the above mausolea. Then early in November the Emperor transfers his place of residence from Tōkyō to Kyōto. The Kashiko Dokoro is transported in the same procession and after reaching Kyōto it is deposited with appropriate ceremonies in a

shrine connected with the Kyōto Imperial Palace, called the Shunkyō Den.

On the morning of the day in which the Sokui Ceremony is performed the Emperor and Empress proceed in state to the Shunkyō Den and in the presence of a brilliant assembly of high representatives of the nation and of foreign powers, worship Amaterasu-Ōmikami as the Great Progenitrix of the nation, and announce the fact of the accession. On the same day Imperial representatives in Tōkyō announce the enthronement before the Shrines of the Tōkyō Palace. On the day following the Sokui Rei ancient Shintō dances (*Okagura*), attended by the Emperor and Empress, are held before the Kashiko Dokoro in the Shunkyō Den at Kyōto.

The date fixed for the Sokui Rei of the reigning Emperor is November 10, 1928. Two days after the consummation of this ceremony Imperial messengers are sent to the Grand Imperial Shrine at Ise, to the shrines of the Tōkyō Palace (Kōrei Den and Shin Den), and to the great national shrines to make announcement of the Daijō Sai. The Daijō Sai itself follows on the night of November 14-15. On the preceding day rites for pacifying the spirits of the Emperor and the Empress, the so-called Chinkon Ceremany, are performed. On the day of the Daijō Sai messengers bearing gifts of cloth are sent to the Ise Dai Jingū and to the Kōrei Den and Shin Den of the Tōkyō Imperial Palace. On the same day food offerings are presented before the Kashiko Dokoro. After the Daijō Sai has ended the Emperor gives a series of state banquets (Nov. 16-17). Following this the Emperor and Empress proceed in person to worship at the Grand Imperial Shrine of Ise and at the mausolea of the first Emperor and of the four rulers immediately preceding the present reign (Nov. 20-29). On returning to Tōkyō the Kashiko Dokoro is restored to its sanctuary in the Ummei Den, and the Emperor and Empress worship at the shrines of the Spirits of the Imperial Ancestors, and of the Deities of Heaven and Earth.

The above summary of official regulations omits certain details. It lists in general, however, the main steps in

the enthronement observances. Prior to passing on to a more extended examination of the Sokui Rei and the Daijō Sai we should note in outline at least, the ceremony of announcement and worship held in Kyōto before the Kashiko Dokoro on the morning of the Sokui Rei.

The Shunkyō Den [also read Shunkō Den] within and before which this ceremony is carried out was the Shrine of the Sacred Regalia Mirror prior to the removal of the Kashiko Dokoro to Tōkyō in the early part of the Meiji Era. The original Shunkyō Den was left vacant after this transfer and in 1895, when a shrine to the spirit of Jimmu Tennō was built at Kashiwabara, the building was given to the new institution and removed thither. A new Shunkyō Den was erected at the time of the Enthronement Ceremonies of Taisho Tennō in 1915. It is chastely constructed of *hinoki*, ornamented with metal work of silver and brass, and arranged in three divisions, which provide an inner sanctum for the Kashiko Dokoro, a middle room for the Emperor and the Empress and a larger outer compartment for Princes and Princesses, high government officials and participating dignitaries.

In the early morning of the day of the Sokui Rei the Shunkyō Den is decorated and placed in order. Within the shrine, in the center of the middle area before the altar, is spread a mat for the Emperor and just to the east of this another mat for the Empress. These mats are square thick *tatami*, three feet (*shaku*) on each side, bordered with brocade. Tables for the Sword and the Jewels are placed near the seat of the Emperor. At the appointed hour the outer palace gates are thrown open and guards of honor take their places before them. Following this, dignitaries and officials, civil and military with their ladies, members of the nobility and their ladies, representatives of foreign governments and their ladies, arrive and take their assigned positions in two long halls of audience arranged one on either side of the open area before the shrine. Next, Princes and Princesses of the Blood arrive and take their places in a hall of waiting called the Giyō Den to the west of the Shunkyō Den. Immediately following this the Emperor and the

PLAN ILLUSTRATING THE CEREMONY BEFORE THE KASHIKO DOKORO IN THE SHUNKYŌ DEN

1. — Shunkyō Den—Where the Kashiko Dokoro (Sacred Mirror) is enshrined during the Enthronement Ceremonies.

2. — Hall for Musicians.

3. — Hall for the Palanquin of the Kashiko Dokoro.

4. — Pavilion for Shintō Dances (Kagura Ya).

5.-6.—Halls of Attendance for Guests.

7. — Guards of Honor.

8.-9.—Officials representing ancient guards, armed with bows and arrows.

10.-11.—Officials bearing bows, quivers with arrows, spears, swords and shields.

12.-13.—Gongs.

14.-15.—Drums.

From *Tairei Shashinchō, Taishō Yonen.*

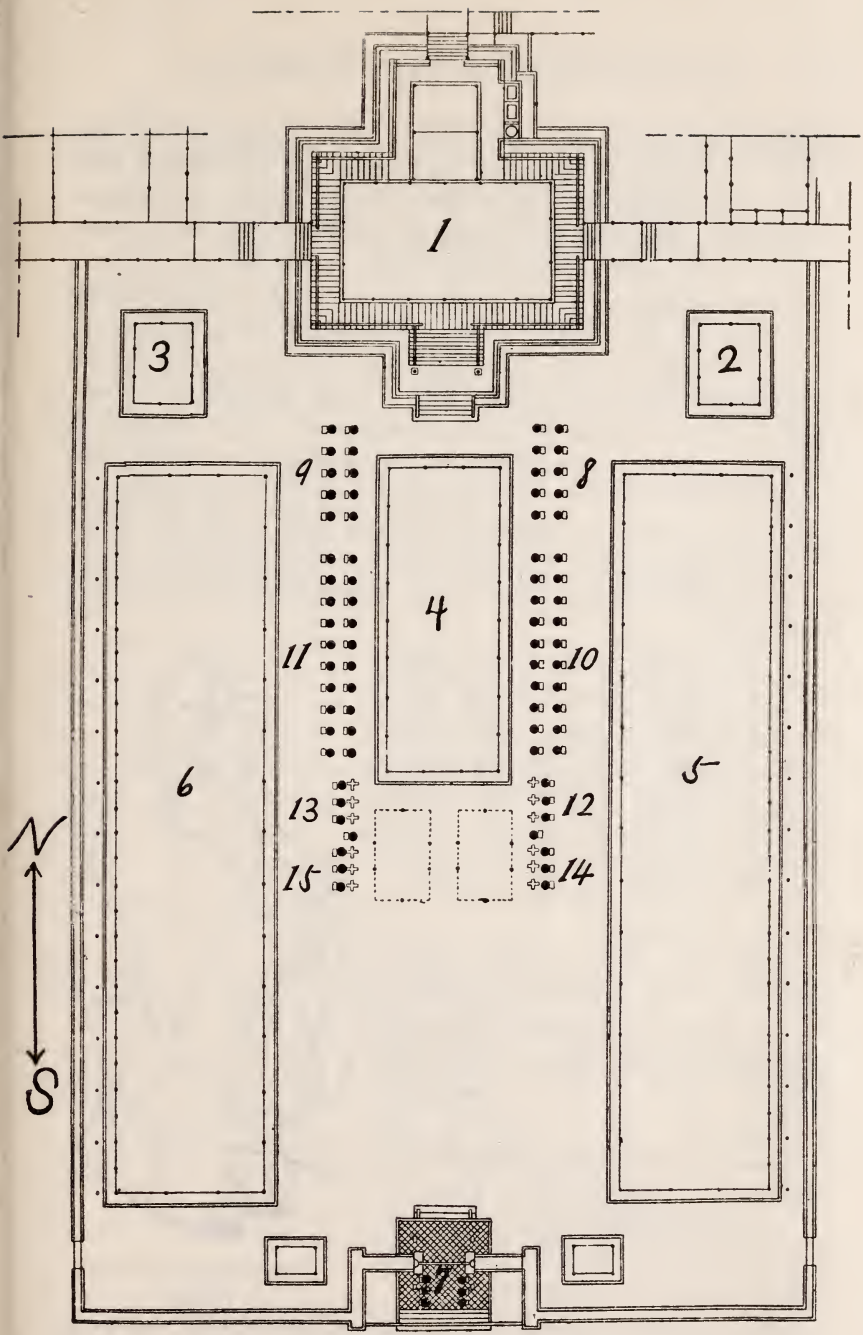


Diagram of Ceremony before the Kashiko Dokoro.—
See facing page.

Empress arrive at the Giyō Den. The Emperor and the Empress and all Princes and Princesses and all officials who are to participate directly in the ceremonies don ceremonial robes. The hands of the Emperor and the Empress are then cleansed with consecrated water, and the Emperor is given a baton[1] as a badge of priestly office while the Empress is given a ceremonial fan called *hisen*. Following this, beaters of drums and gongs take their places in the open area before the shrine, seven on either side of the approach. Next, bearers of ceremonial objects consisting of swords, bows and arrows, halberds and shields, twenty persons on either side, take their places nearer the shrine in line with the beaters of gongs and drums. Finally, guards of honor, ten on either side, carrying swords and bows and wearing on their backs quivers full of arows, take places in the same lines, nearest the shrine.

Drums and gongs are sounded three times as a signal for the ceremonies proper to begin. All stand. While ancient music (*kagura uta*) is being rendered, the screens before the inner shrine are opened. Food offerings are placed on the altars and the chief ritualist reads a prayer (*norito*).

At the close of the above movements the Emperor followed by a retinue of Princes and high officials takes his place within the shrine. The Empress, similarly accompanied by a retinue of Princesses, court ladies and officials, then takes her appointed place.

A chamberlain then places the Regalia Sword and the Jewels on stands near the Emperor.

Shintō Priest carrying Shaku.

[1] This baton is called a *shaku*. It is a flat, elongated piece of wood, more rarely made of ivory, carried by Shintō priests, and anciently by Court officials, as an insignia of office. It is also used by those participating in Shintō ceremonies as a convenient device for holding memoranda.

The Emperor then passes to the altar and worships, and reads a proclamation to the Spirit of Amaterasu-Ōmikami.

The Empress then worships before the altar.

Next, other member of the Imperial Family worship.

The Emperor and Empress, followed by their retinues then withdraw.

Worship before the Kashiko Dokoro by officials and other dignitaries is then permitted.

Following this, while ancient music is being rendered, the offerings are removed and the inner doors of the shrine are closed.

As the last phase of the ceremony gongs and drums are sounded three times and all retire.

The Shunkyō Den ceremony is thus one of worship of Amaterasu-Ōmikami and of formal announcement to her of the accomplishment and celebration of the new accession. One important fact in connection with this ceremony should be particularly noted. It is here in this ceremony alone of all the various rites and forms carried out in commemoration of the Enthronement that the traditional Regalia appear together—the Sword and the Jewels by the side of the Emperor and the Mirror as the "Sacred Divine Body" of the shrine before which worship is conducted. In all the other ceremonies the Sword and Jewels are separated from their ancient companion.

On the afternoon of the same day as that on which the above ceremony is conducted the Great Announcement to the nation and to the world is made.

The ceremonies mentioned in the preceding discussion as well as certain others that will be noted in the following chapters are listed in outline below.

I.—The *SENSO*. Accession Ceremonies.

1.—The Accession. Dec. 25, 1926.

2.—Announcement of the new succession before the Kashiko Dokoro, Tōkyō Palace. Dec. 25, 1926.

3.—Announcement of the new succession before the Kōrei Den and the Shin Den, Tōkyō Palace. Dec. 25, 1926.

4.—Ceremony of Transferring the Sword and the Jewels. Dec. 25, 1926.

5.—Imperial Audience following the succession. Dec. 28, 1926.

II.—The *SOKUI REI.* Ceremony of Ascending the Throne. Announcements to the Spirits of Imperial Ancestors, to the Deities of Heaven and Earth, to the nation and to the world.

1.—The announcement of the dates before the Kashiko Dokoro. Jan. 17, 1928.

2.—The announcement of dates before the Kōrei Den and the Shin Den. Jan. 17, 1928.

3.—The ceremony of sending Imperial Messengers to the Ise Dai Jingū, and to the mausolea of Jimmu Tennō and the four rulers immediately preceding the reigning Emperor. Jan. 17, 1928.

4.—The ceremony of sending offerings of cloth to the Ise Dai Jingū. Jan. 19, 1928.

5.—The ceremony of sending offerings of cloth to the mausolea of Jimmu Tennō and of the four rulers immediately preceding the reigning Emperor. Jan. 19, 1928.

6.—The Imperial Procession to Kyōto. Nov. 6-7, 1928.

7.—The Ceremony of placing the Kashiko Dokoro in the Shunkyō Den of Kyōto. Nov. 7, 1928.

8.—Ceremony of announcing the Sokui before the Kōrei Den and the Shin Den of Tōkyō. Nov. 10, 1928.

9.—Ceremony of worship and announcement before the Kashiko Dokoro enshrined in the Shunkyō Den, Kyōto. 10 A.M., No. 10, 1928.

10.—*THE SOKUI REI.* In the Shishin Den, Kyōto . 2 P.M., Nov. 10, 1928.

11.—Sacred dances (*Okagura*) before the Kashiko Dokoro. Nov. 11, 1928.

III.—The *DAIJŌ SAI.* The Great New Food Festival.

1.—Ceremony of selecting the sacred rice fields. Feb. 5, 1928.

2.—Ceremony of planting the sacred rice. June 1, 1928.

3.—Ceremonies of gathering the grain. Sept. 20-22, 1928.

4.—Ceremony of sending Imperial Messengers to the Ise Dai Jingū, to the Kōrei Den and the Shin Den, and to government and national shrines. Nov. 12, 1928.

5.—Ceremony of *Chinkon,* "Pacification of Spirits." Nov. 13, 1928.

6.—Ceremony of presenting offerings to the Ise Dai Jingū. Nov. 14, 1928.

7.—Ceremony of presenting offerings to the Kōrei Den and the Shin Den, Tōkyō. Nov. 14, 1928.

8.—Ceremony of presenting food offerings at the Kashiko Dokoro. Nov. 14, 1928.

9.—The *DAIJŌ SAI.* In the Yuki and the Suki Shrines.

a.—Ceremony in the Yuki Den. Nov. 14, 8 P.M.

b.—Ceremony in the Suki Den. Nov. 15, 2 A.M.

IV.—State Banquets in Celebration of the Enthronement.

1.—Banquet of the First Day after the Sokui Rei and the Daijō Sai. Nov. 16, 1928.

2.—Banquet of the Second Day after the Sokui Rei and the Daijō Sai. Nov. 17, 1928.

3.—The Evening Banquet after the Sokui Rei and the Daijō Sai. Nov. 17, 1928.

V.—Imperial Visitation to the Ise Dai Jingū and to Imperial Mausolea.

1.—To Ise. Nov. 20-21, 1928.

2.—To the Mausoleum of Emperor Jimmu. Nov. 23, 1928.

3.—To the Mausolea of Emperors Ninkō and Kōmei. Nov. 24, 1928.

4.—To the Mausoleum of Emperor Meiji. Nov. 25, 1928.

5.—To the Mausoleum of Emperor Taishō. Nov. 29, 1928.

VI.—The Imperial Return to Tōkyō and final Ceremonies.

1.—Return to Tōkyō. Nov. 26-27, 1928.

2.—Ceremony of Restoring the Kashiko Dokoro to the Ummei Den of the Tōkyō Imperial Palace. Nov. 27, 1928.

3.—Ceremony of sacred dances before the Kashiko Dokoro. Nov. 28, 1928.

4.—Ceremony of worship by Emperor and Empress before the Kōrei Den and the Shin Den. Nov. 30, 1928.

The Enthronement Ceremony of the Shishin Den. The Prime Minister is shown standing at the top of the main stairway reading the Address of Congratulation to the Throne.

By courtesy of Dr. Masanao Sekine.

Chapter VI

THE SOKUI REI: THE CEREMONY OF ASCENDING THE THRONE

In the *Kojiruien,* or "Classified Collection of Ancient Writings"—an extensive compilation of Japanese historical documents with commentary, issued in 1897—it is written, "At the time of his accession the Emperor sits on the *Takamikura* and announces to the hundreds of officials and the tens of thousands of people the fact of his succession to the Heavenly Sun Dynasty. This is called the *Sokui.*"

This quotation properly interprets the meaning of the Sokui Rei. It is in essence a Great Announcement. Attention has already been called to the fact that this important ceremony is held in the Throne Hall, or the Shishin Den, situated in the southern section of the Kyōto Imperial Palace Grounds. The Shishin Den is built according to dignified Chinese models, and reveals in its very name the fact of Chinese influence on the Sokui Ceremony which has already been mentioned. The last element of the name of the Throne Hall—*den*—means "palace" and has no special connotations beyond those of a stately building. The second syllable *shin* or *shii* is written with a rare ideogram that was anciently used in China exclusively of the person, possessions and acts of the Emperor. It is composed of the ideogram for the north star with a roof over it. Originally it consisted of the former element only. The roof was added for distinction and to set it apart for Imperial use. The first syllable *shi* literally means purple. It is part of the name, read *shibi* in Sino-Japanese, with which the Chinese designated the stars about the polestar. That part of the palace of the Chinese Emperor in which he met his officials, that is to say the place from which he ruled his dominions, was designated by a combination of the names of these stars.

In ancient China the place of honor was the north. At his accession to the throne and on important state occasions the Emperor faced south and was regarded as ruling his

PLAN ILLUSTRATING THE SOKUI REI — CEREMONY OF ASCENDING THE THRONE OF THE SHISHIN DEN

1.—Shishin Den—Containing the Thrones of the Emperor and the Empress.

2.—Cherry Tree (Sakura).

3.—Orange Tree (Tachibana).

4.—Shōmei Gate.

5.—Nikka Gate.

6.—Gekka Gate.

7.—The Sun Image Plume Banner (Nichizō Tōban).

8.—The Moon Image Plume Banner (Getsuzō Tōban).

9.—The Great Silk Banner of the Yata Crow (Yata Karasu Dai Kimban).

10.—The Great Silk Banner of the Sacred Kite (Reishigata Dai Kimban).

11-12.—Chrysanthemum Crest Middle Silk Banners (Kikkashō Chū Kimban). Five on either side—green, yellow, red, white and purple.

13-14.—Chrysanthemum Crest Small Silk Banners (Kikkashō Shō Kimban). Five on either side—green, yellow, red, white and purple.

15-16.—Officials representing ancient guards of honor, armed with bows and arrows.

17-18.—Officials bearing bows, quivers with arrows, spears, swords and shields.

19-20.—Gongs.

21-22.—Drums.

23-24.—Spears.

25-26.—Banzai Banners.

From *Tairei Shashinchō, Taishō Yonen.*

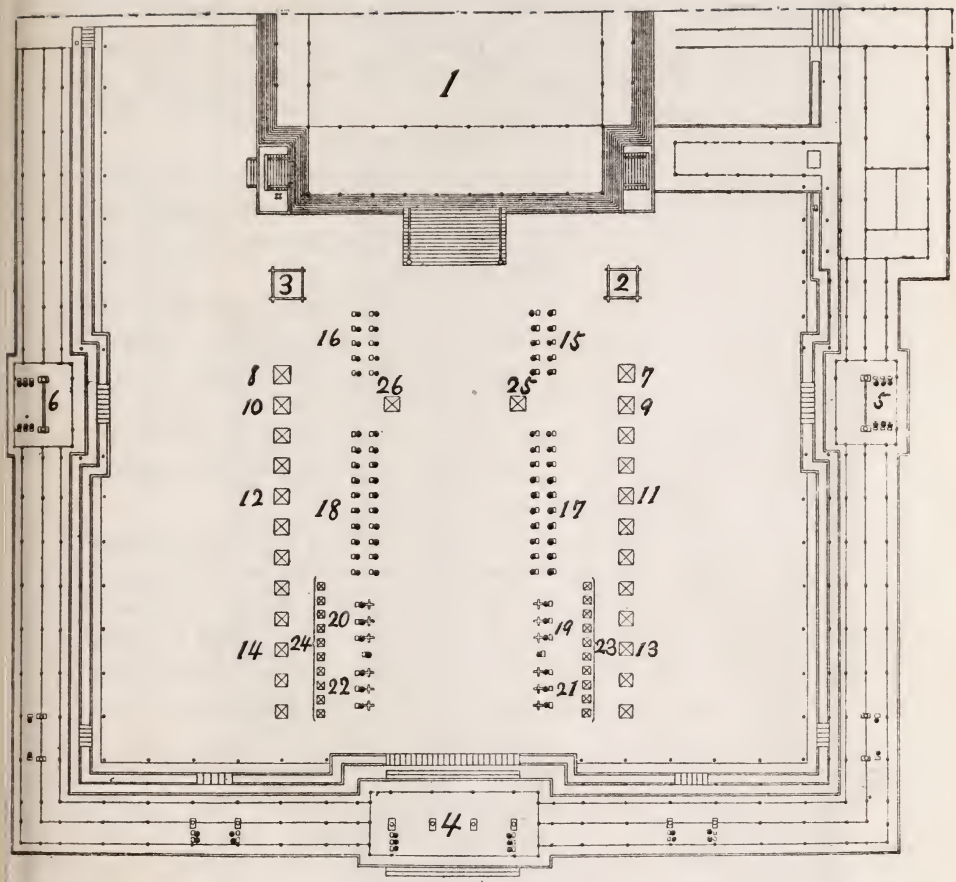


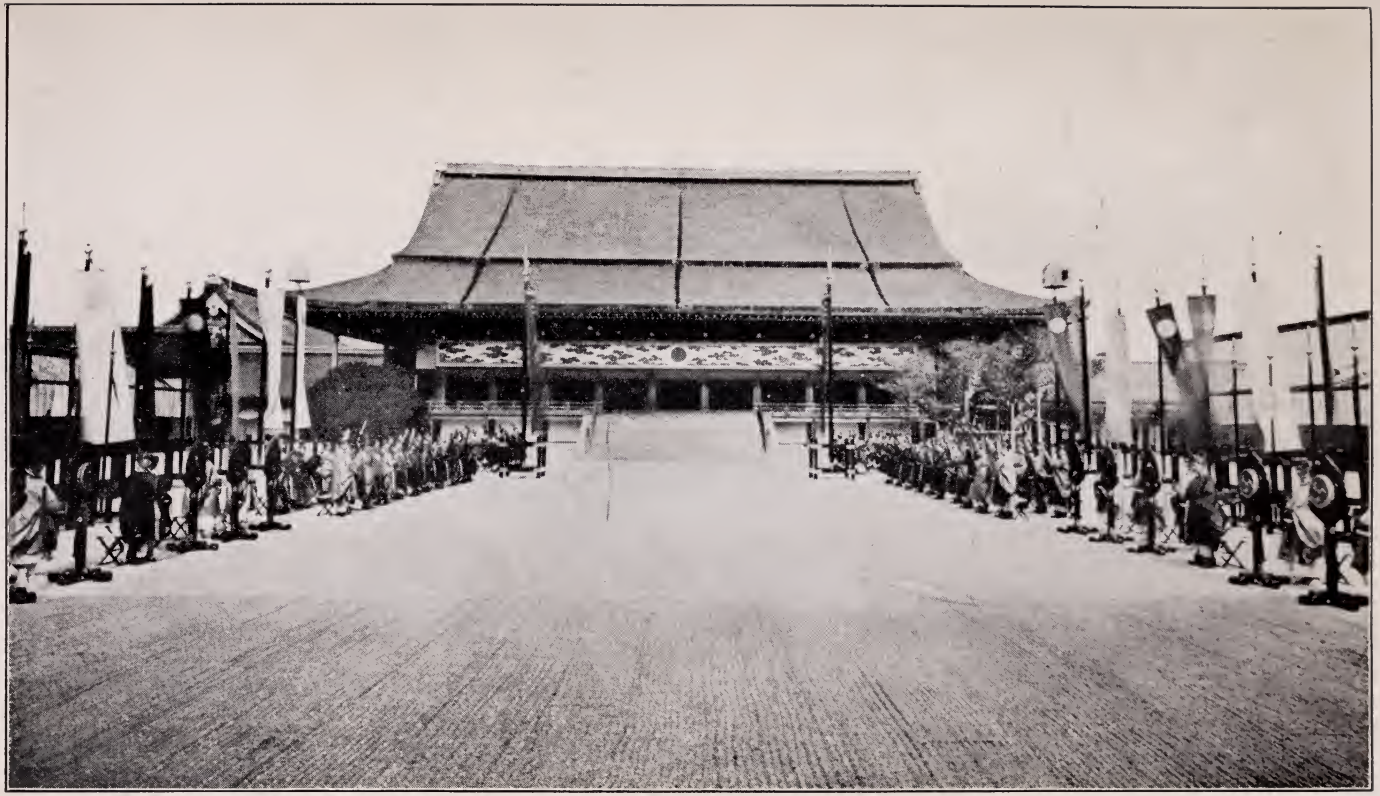
Diagram of Enthronement Ceremony of Shishin Den.
See facing page.

subjects from the north just as the polestar ruled the starry hosts of the heavens from that direction. Subjects stood to the southward of the Chinese Emperor, facing north. This is a procedure altogether unknown to original Japanese tradition. Japanese cosmogony and mythology alike are heliocentric. The Japanese Emperor is correctly the child of the sun, not the ruler from the north.

These Chinese ideas of the north as the place of honor and of the north star as the symbol of regal power and dignity have considerably influenced the Japanese Enthronement Ceremonies. They account for the fact that the Emperor mounts the throne from the north and faces the south when he addresses his people and receives the congratulations of their chief representative. They also account for the fact that the Shishin Den has a southern court and not a northern one, from the southern areas of which the assembled subjects and representatives of friendly nations must face the Emperor to the north.

Chinese influence on the Sokui Rei has not been confined to the aspects just mentioned. In the reign of Empress Suiko, who came to the throne in 593 A.D., Chinese civilization began to enter Japan in strength. The great reforms of the Taikwa Era (645-701 A.D.) were inspired by Chinese forms and carried out according to Chinese precedents. Then, as already pointed out, when we reach the reign of Emperor Tenchi (662-671 A.D.) the Enthronement Ceremony (Sokui Rei) became almost entirely Chinese. These continental influences continued dominant down to the opening of the modern period in 1868. During the long mediæval period of Japanese history the enthronement robes of the Emperor, the vestments of officials and other participating dignitaries, the banners standing in the Southern Court, the incense burned to announce to Heaven the accession of a new Emperor, in fact the entire proceedings—all were in imitation of Chinese originals.

Begining with the revival of pure Japanese institutions that set in strongly at the opening of the Meiji Period, and which has continued ever since, an effort was made to repudiate this Chinese influence. Special legislation was



The Shinshin Den. Within this building are the Thrones of the Emperor and the Empress. The Enthronement Banners are seen standing in the Southern Courtyard.

From *Tairei Shashinchō, Taishō Yonen.*

enacted requiring that the Sokui Rei conform to ancient Japanese customs. Yet the fact remains that this part of the Enthronement Ceremonies is more Chinese in its historical affiliations than it is Japanese. It is not the original Japanese Enthronement ceremony. For this we must look to the Daijō Sai.

The Shishin Den is constructed entirely of Japanese cypress (*hinoki*). The roof is thatched with the bark of this same material. The floor is of polished wood. The entire building measures ninety *shaku* east and west, and sixty *shaku* north and south. It is approached from the southern side by a broad flight of eighteen steps, and from the western and eastern sides by narrower flights of nine steps each. The massive roof is supported by symmetrical rows of wooden columns. The outer balcony which encircles the building can be completely opened to the air, thus affording an easy view from the exterior of all that transpires within. In the center of the interior hall is placed the Throne.

The Imperial Throne from which the Emperor makes solemn announcement of the fact of his accession is called in Japanese the Takamikura,[1] which means "High August Seat." In ensemble it is a series of three stages from the highest of which rise eight pillars supporting an octagonal canopy. The woodwork is of *hinoki* heavily lacquered in black, and richly overlaid with fine metal work of gold and brass. The base is a massive, slightly oblong dais, twenty feet in width, eighteen in depth and three feet high. This is fenced about with a black lacquered railing embossed with golden Imperial sun crests. It is approached on the eastern, western and northern sides by broad steps which also glisten mirror-like in their finish of black lacquer. The northern approach is for the use of the Emperor alone. The Throne thus faces south toward the open court of the temple. Three broad panels adorn the front of the first dais. The central panel, which lies directly in front of and beneath the Imperial seat, bears a painted representation of the

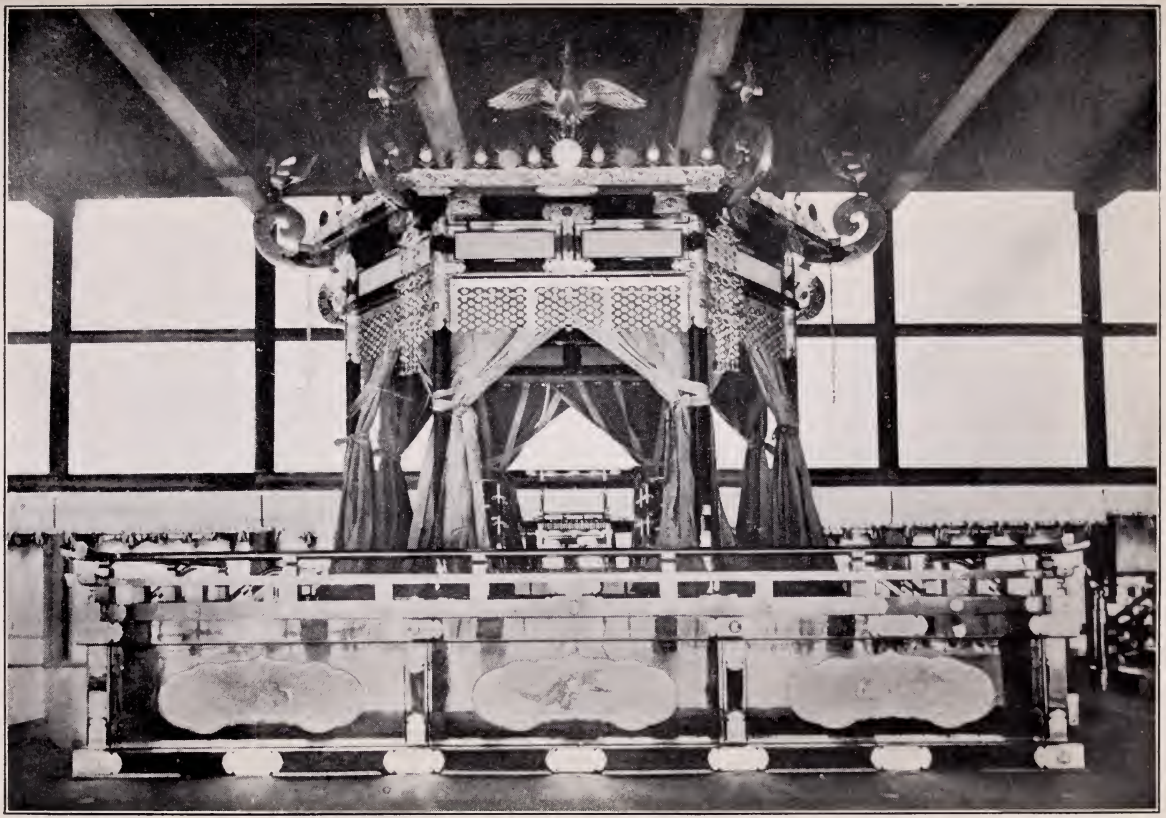
[1] The following description is based on the Takamikura used in the Sokui Rei of Taishō Tennō in 1915, and preserved in the Shishin Den of the Kyōto Palace. The same Throne will be used in the Enthronement of the reigning Emperor.

royal phœnix. Flanking this on either side are paintings of the fabulous dragon-headed *kirin*. On either side of each of the three stairways are similar *kirin* panels. Over the first stage is spread a covering of red brocade worked with a white peony design.

The second and third stages are octagonal in shape, the latter slightly smaller than the former, but set concentrically with it and with faces corresponding. The height of the second dais is about one foot. It is covered with a brocade of the same material as that of the first. On the third is spread a green brocade of design similar to that of the coverings of the two lower stages.

The eight pillars supporting the canopy rise from the corners of the third platform and pass into an octagonal-based flattened dome-like roof, resplendent in the brilliant black of lacquer and the yellow of metal work. The peak of the dome is capped by a small box-like dais called *roban*. Mounted on the *roban* and soaring with out-stretched wings over all, rises a great golden phœnix. The lines of the dome radiate in eight ridges from the *roban* at the center and, passing through the angles of the eaves, terminate in scrolls of a form which Japanese writers picturesquely compare with the curled sprouts of the young fern. Each scroll is elaborately embellished with metal work in a design dominated by the Imperial crest. Standing above each of the scrolls is a golden metal phœnix. Hanging from each scroll is a lacy pendant of fine metal work called a *gyokuban*. Above the center of each of the eight outer edges of the roof stands a large metal mirror with rays. Each of these mirrors is flanked with smaller mirrors and with globes made of gold and copper, called *hakugyuku*. Below these and passing in a band around the entire roof edge is a carved wave-like design colored in green lacquer.

The upper part of each of the eight faces between the eaves and the lintel is filled with paneling of green lattice work, bordered with a band of red. Suspended beneath this is a narrow curtain (*mokō*) of interlaced metal work of thinly pressed gold and copper. The design here again is dominated by the theme of the Imperial crest.



The Throne of the Emperor.

From *Tairei Shashinchō, Taishō Yonen.*

Hanging from within the dome across the octagonal faces of the canopy, and draped about the pillars in such a way as to permit of being drawn back to provide eight large pentagonal apertures affording access to the central platform, are heavy curtains of deep purple silk, ornamented with a raised hollyhock design in the same color. The curtains are lined with scarlet silk. Above the third dais are laid close together, side by side, two thick mats of straw (*tatami*) edged with brocade, striped with lines of red, green, blue, yellow, white and black, gradually shading from deeper to lighter colors. Above the *tatami* are spread, one over the other, three rugs of fine weave. The first is an embroidered rush matting bordered with Yamato brocade. The second is of soft Yamato brocade. The topmost rug is of brocade with a white ground ornamented with square shaped, conventionalized yellow butterfly and flower designs. Anciently the Emperor took his seat directly above these rugs. In more recent times a Throne-chair has been added. The chair is of red sandal wood inlaid with mother-of-pearl—broad-seated, squarely built, four legged and substantial. To the right and the left are stands for the Sacred Sword and Jewels. In the ceremony the Sword is placed on the Emperor's left, the jewels on his right. In the ceiling of the canopy, reflecting its light down upon the Throne-chair beneath, is a large mirror.

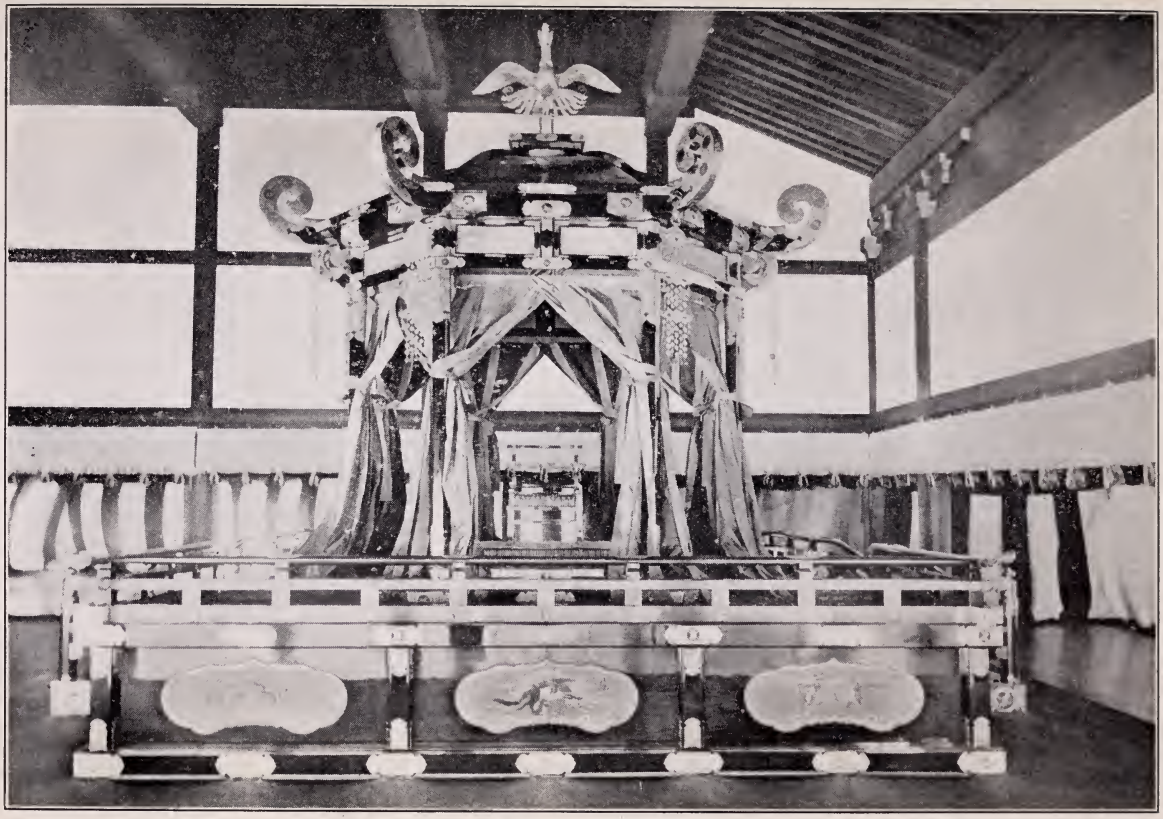
Just to the east of the Takamikura is placed the Throne of the Empress, called the Michōdai which means "The Curtained Throne." It is closely patterned after the Throne of the Emperor, but is smaller and has less ornamentation. It has the same three platforms with their background of black lacquer, the same octagonal canopy and the same approaches on the east, the west and the north. It lacks some of the more elaborate decorative details of the Takamikura, such as the golden phœnix above each of the eight scrolls at the eaves and the mirrors and *hakugyoku* around the lower edge of the roof. Its curtains are of light purple lined with red silk. The Michōdai did not appear in Japanese Enthronement Ceremonies prior to 1915.

Hanging beneath the southern eaves of the Shishin Den

and extending the entire length of the building is a *mokō* in the form of a long narrow horizontal curtain made of fine, heavy silk. The curtain is sufficiently wide to give good proportion to the whole and at the same time sufficiently narrow to hang entirely clear of the open spaces of the temple front. The background of the cloth is pure white, and against this in the center directly over the middle of the broad stairway is embroidered a golden sun. Worked into the cloth to the right and the left are *zuiun,* or clouds of good omen in the five propitious colors—green, yellow, red, white and purple.

To the south of the Shishin Den is an open area called the *Nan Tei* or Southern Court, extending two hundred and twenty *shaku* east and west and one hundred and fifty *shaku* north and south. The Southern Court is bounded on the north by the Shishin Den and its approaches, and on the remaining sides by covered, earthen-floored corridors, called *Konro.* Here in these corridors and under temporary shelters adjoining them the invited guests take their stand. The court-yard is entered through the corridors by two gates on the east, two on the west and three on the south. The main gate on the east is called the *Nikka Mon* ("Sun Flower Gate"), that on the west, the *Gekkwa Mon* ("Moon Flower Gate") and that on the South the *Shōmei Mon* ("Light Receiving Gate"). On the outside of the corridors are hung silk curtains with multi-colored raised figures. On the inside are also hung curtains of brocade, rolled up so as to permit unobstructed view of the court-yard and the temple.

In the northern part of the court-yard close to the temple and to the east of the main stairway is placed a cherry tree (*sakura*) and to the west of the stairway a mandarin orange tree (*tachibana*). These are popularly called the *Sakon no Sakura* ("The Cherry Tree Near on the Left") and the *Ukon no Tachibana* ("The Orange Tree Near on the Right"), speaking from the point of view of the Emperor. They stand where Imperial guards (*Konoe*) stood in former times, and symbolically represent the guardian life of the Japanese nation near His Majesty's person. The cherry tree, in the transient passion of its blossoming, has been traditionally upheld as the symbol of



The Throne of the Empress.

From *Tairei Shashinchō, Taishō Yonen.*

the intense loyalty of the Japanese people. The orange tree is a tree of fragrance and to the Japanese represents birthplace and home. Thus in the symbolism of the trees the Emperor is guarded on the left and on the right by the loyalty and the homes of the nation.

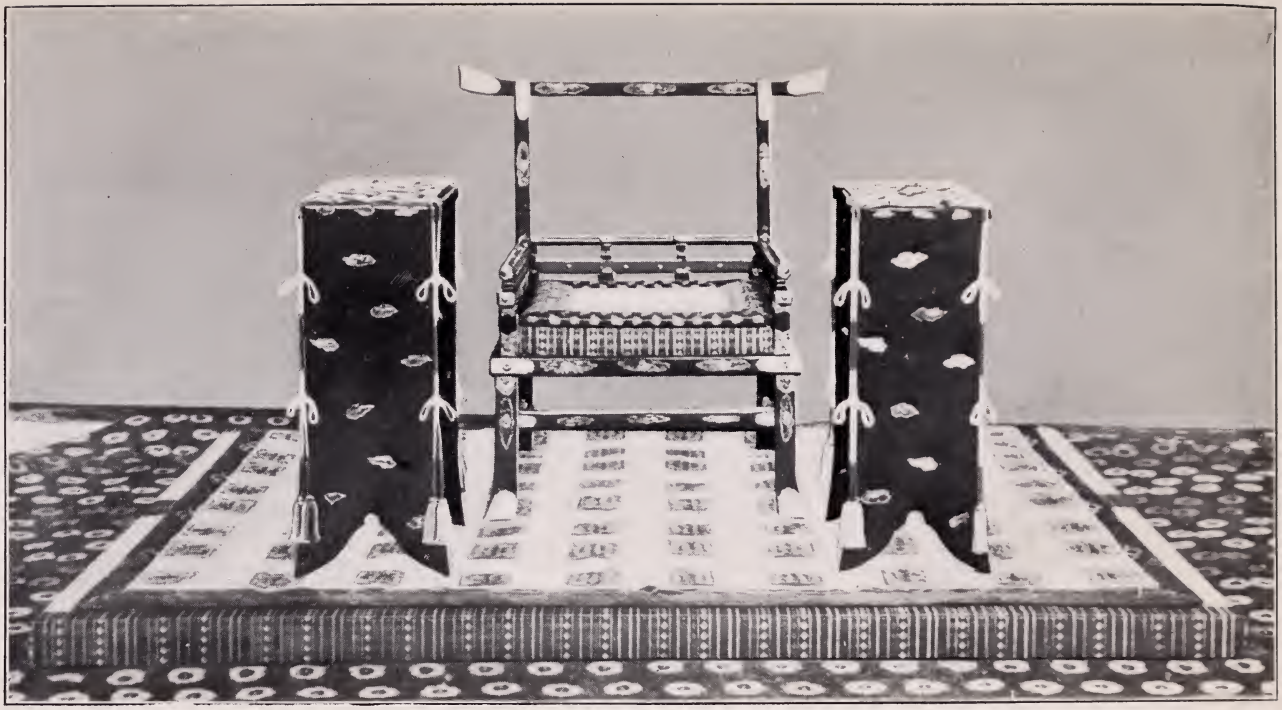
Extending in a straight line southward from just in front of the cherry tree are set up twelve banners. The number corresponds to the number of months in the year. In similar position parallel with the former line and extending southward from the orange tree are placed twelve corresponding banners. If one stands in imagination in the center of the southern extremity of the court-yard facing the Throne, he sees farthest away among the banners on the right closest to the cherry tree, a large banner of heavy, red silk, bearing in its upper part a representation of the sun, embroidered in threads of gold. Surmounting the pole of the banner is a device called a *shaguma*, or "plume." In this particular case it consists of a large, globe-like object falling into streamers in the lower part. Its color is gold, suggesting a representation of the sun with rays. This banner is called the *Nichi zō Tōban* or the "Sun Image Plume Banner" and was anciently regarded as the Emperor's own standard.

In corresponding position in the line of banners to the left and standing just in front of the orange tree is a banner identical in form with the sun banner, but made of white silk, embroidered with a silver moon and capped with a silver *shaguma*. This is the *Getsu zō Tōban*, or the "Moon Image Plume Banner."

Next in position to the south of the Sun Banner is the "Great Silk Banner of the Yata Crow" (*Yata Karasu Dai Kimban*). Against a background of red silk are worked the designs of the five clouds of good omen in red, yellow, white, green and purple. The pole of the standard ends in a forked golden spear. In the upper field is embroidered a large, black crow with wings extended as if in swift flight. The representation of a flying crow here on one of the Enthronement banners is based on an old Japanese legend which relates how when the first Emperor Jimmu Tennō

was passing from Kumano to Yoshino in hitherto little known regions of Yamato, he and his troops became bewildered by the trackless forests and the precipitous mountains and were unable to make headway. Then the Sun Goddess, Amaterasu-Ōmikami, sent the Yata Crow, which, flying down from the Void, went before Jimmu Tennō and his army and guided them safely to their journey's end. Similar legends of a crow that lives in the sun or that journeys to and from the sun are of wide distribution among other peoples and of great antiquity. Such conceptions have been found in China, Asia Minor, Egypt and elsewhere. When the Egyptian ruler died the Imperial Sun crow that had resided with him during his reign, returned to the sun, but came back to earth again to make its abode with the new ruler. The Chinese have preserved an ancient legend of a red crow with three legs that lives in the sun. Prior to the Meiji Period the Yata Crow represented on the Japanese Imperial Enthronement Banner had three legs. In the revival of the things of Old Japan introduced at the opening of the Meiji Period, this three-legged representation was changed to that now used. It is highly probable, however, that the original Japanese conception of the Imperial Sun Crow was of a supernatural creature with three legs. The symbolism of the Yata Crow Banner, interpreted in the light of the data of early Japanese mythology, means that the new Emperor is being guided on his unknown way as was Jimmu Tennō of old by the messenger of the Deity of the Sun.

To the south of the Moon Banner in a position corresponding with that of the Crow Banner, stands the "Great Silk Banner of the Sacred Kite" (*Reishi Gata Dai Kimban*). The body of the banner consists of a background of white against which are designed again the five-colored clouds of good omen. At the top of the banner is a large, golden kite surrounded by golden sun rays. In Japanese mythology the kite is also a sun bird. One of the legends concerning the subjection of Yamato by Jimmu Tennō relates how in a certain place the Imperial forces fought long and hard with the enemy, but were unable to gain a victory. Then there appeared a wondrous golden kite which perched on the end



The Throne Chair. The stand to the left of the Emperor as he sits on the Throne is for the Sacred Sword, that on the right is for the Sacred Jewels.

From *Tairei Kiroku, Taishō Yonen.*

of the Emperor's bow. "The lustre of the kite was of dazzling brightness, so that its appearance was like that of lightning" (Nihongi). The enemy were bewildered and weakened in the dazzling light and were easily overcome by the troops of the Emperor. The symbolism of the Kite Banner means that the new Emperor will be aided by the irresistible might of the Sun Goddess in overcoming all enemies.

On the right and on the left, to the south of the Yata Crow Banner and of the Kite Banner, stand the "Chrysanthemum Crest Middle[1] Silk Banners" (*Kikukashō Chū Kimban*), five on the one hand and five on the other. Each banner in the series is in one of the five colors of good omen. In order of succession from north to south the colors run—green,[2] yellow, red, white and purple. The same sequence is observed in both lines. Near the top of each banner is embroidered an Imperial Chrysanthemum Crest of sixteen petals in gold. This crest which is peculiarly the emblem of the Imperial Family is in origin a sun symbol. Similar sun emblems with sixteen petals adorned the royal palaces of Babylon. At the apex of the pole of each standard is a single-headed, golden spear.

Groups of five additional banners on either side complete the two lines. These final standards are called the "Chrysanthemum Crest Small Silk Banners" (*Kikuka Mon Shō Kimban*) and are identical with the banners just described in form, color and sequence in line. The only difference is that they are of slightly smaller dimensions.

The most conspicuous standards in the entire courtyard have yet to be described. These are the *Banzai no Hata* or the "Banners of Ten Thousand Years." They express in silken symbol the shout of the nation that the Emperor live and reign forever. They are two in number and stand not in direct line with the other banners but are placed facing each other some feet within the area marked off by these two lines. The Banzai Banner on the right stands in front of the space between the Yata Banner and the first of the

[1] "Middle" here refers to size.

[2] In the Enthronement Ceremonies of Taishō Tenno this was blue. It has been changed to green for the ceremonies of the reigning Emperor.

Chrysanthemum Banners, while the Banzai Banner on the left is in similar position on front of the space between the Banner of the Sacred Kite and the first Chrysanthemum Banner on the left.

The main field of each Banzai Banner is of red brocade. Upon this background slightly above the center is embroidered in gold the Chinese characters for *Banzai*, meaning, as just indicated "Ten Thousand Years." Above the *Banzai* ideograms is embroidered in brown silk thread a *sake* jar of primitive design. The original is a jar that has been carefully preserved from very ancient times in the Ishigami Shrine of the country of Yamato. Above the jar are embroidered five silver fish called *ayu* swimming in silver waves. At the top of each standard is a golden trident. The explanation of the embroidered devices is also in a legend connected with the early conquests of the first Emperor. The Nihongi says that Emperor Jimmu in order to foreknow by divination the results of his expedition against the bandits of Yamato, "made a vow saying:—'I will now take the sacred jars and sink them in the River Nifu. If the fishes, whether great or small, become every one drunken and are carried down the stream, like as it were to floating *maki* leaves, then shall I assuredly succeed in establishing this land. But if this be not so, there will never be any result.' Thereupon he sank the jars in the river with their mouths downward. After a while the fish all came floating to the surface, gaping and gasping as they floated down the stream. . . . . It was with this that the custom began of setting sacred jars."[3]

The symbolism of the Banzai Banners means, then, a divinely inspired assurance that the Emperor will settle on a sure and permanent basis the affairs of the land.

Standing before each of the two groups of smaller five-colored banners are three gongs and three drums, making six instruments of percussion on either side. Each of these is hung in a rounded, wooden frame supported on a square, upright post with four branching feet at its base. The

[3] Aston, *Nihongi* 1, 121.

rounded frames are carved and colored to represent rising flames. On either side between the drums and gongs and the smaller colored banners are ten spear standards. The guard of each spear is of gold, the blade of silver, the shaft of black lacquered wood. A small red silk banner hangs from each spear head, bearing in its center a gold colored design consisting of three comma like objects arranged in circular form called *mitsu domoe*.

The following outline of the order of procedure in the Shishin Den Ceremony adheres closely to the statement issued by the Japanese government in its Enthronement Regulations.

Early in the afternoon guards of honor take up their positions outside the Kenrei and the Kenshin Gates leading into the palace grounds. At the appointed hour higher civil and military officials and their ladies, members of the nobility and their ladies, other dignitaries of high rank and their ladies, and representatives of foreign countries and their ladies assemble outside the Nikka and the Gekka Gates leading to the corridors about the Southern Court of the Shishin Den. Those who are to participate directly in the ceremonies wear ancient ceremonial robes, the men carrying swords. Then higher officials of the Enthronement Commission (*Taireishi Kōtōkan*), thirty in all, take their positions as guards of honor without the gates of the Shishin Den. Then from the Nikka Gate on the east six officials of Hannin rank, led by a *Taireishi Kōtōkan* pass to their positions behind the gongs and drums in the eastern line. Six officials similarly led pass from the Gekka Gate to positions behind the drums and banners in the western line. Next twenty officials of high rank (*Taireishi Kōtōkan*) from each of the above gates enter and take positions before the Middle Banners of five colors. These are bearers of ceremonial objects, consisting of swords, bows and arrows, spears and shields. Immediately following these ten higher officials of the Enthronement Commission (*Taireishi Kōtōkan*) enter from each of the above gates and take places before the Cherry Tree on the right and the Orange Tree on the left. They represent ancient Imperial Guards (called *Sau*

Konoe) and accordingly are armed with bows, arrows and swords.

After the above named dignitaries, seventy-four in number, robed according to group in fine silks of many colors, have taken their places before the two parallel lines of banners, the gongs and the drums are sounded simultaneously three times. All stand in assigned places. Then, guided by *Taireishi Kōtōkan* the guests awaiting without the Nikka and Gekka Gates enter and take their appointed places in the Southern Court, some within the eastern and western areas of the Shishin Den itself. Next, the Grand Master of Ceremonies and the Vice-Grand Master of Ceremonies, followed by Court Ritualists take their places within the southwestern part of the temple. Next, the Prime Minister and the Minister of the Imperial Household Department take their places within the temple nearer the Throne than the preceding officials. Then the Princes of the Blood take places within the temple just before the Throne.

When all are in place, Masters of Ceremony by a warning cry give notice of the approach of the Emperor. Then the Emperor mounts the Throne by the northern stairs. Chamberlains (*Jiju*) place the Sacred Sword and the Sacred Jewels on the stands beside the Throne-chair, and present the Emperor with a baton (*shaku*). The Minister of the Imperial Household then ascends the first dais of the Throne and takes his place as honorary guard outside the curtains to the northwest of the Throne-chair. The Grand Chamberlain of the Imperial Household, Chamberlains, the Chief Aide de Camp of the Emperor and Aides de Camp likewise take places as guards of honor on the main floor of the Temple behind the Throne.

Next, the Empress and her retinue enter. The Empress mounts her Throne by the northern stairs and a Court Lady hands her the ceremonial fan (*hisen*). Princesses of the Blood take their places just before the Throne of the Empress and Court Ladies take places as guards of honor on the main floor of the Temple behind the Throne.

Next, two Chamberlains, one by the eastern stairs and one by the western, ascend the first dais of the Throne and

open the curtains, and then return to their places. Following this, two Court Ladies, one by the eastern stairs and one by the western, ascend the first dais of the Throne of the Empress and open the curtains, and then resume their places. The Emperor and Empress appear seated on their Throne-chairs.

Then the Emperor, holding his *shaku* before him, stands. Immediately, the Empress rises, holding her fan before her.

All present make profound obeisance.

The Prime Minister then descends from within the Shishin Den by the western stairs and proceeds to a place in the Southern Courtyard between the banners and facing the Emperor.

The Emperor, still standing, reads an Imperial Rescript.

The Prime Minister then mounts the main stairs to a position beneath the southern eaves just before the Throne, and facing the Emperor, delivers on behalf of the nation, an address of felicitation.

The Prime Minister then withdraws to a position midway between the two Banzai Banners and leads the assembly of Princes, Princesses, nobility, officials, dignitaries, and representatives of foreign nations in three shouts of *Banzai* for the Emperor. This salutation is carefully timed to the second and the exact instant at which it will occur is made known throughout the nation. Simultaneously with the shouts that go up before the Shishin Den, waiting groups throughout the length and breadth of the land join their voices in a nation-wide shout of "Banzai! Banzai! Banzai!" to the new Representative of the Unbroken Line.

Following this, the Prime Minister resumes his place within the Shishin Den. Two Chamberlains then mount the stairs of the Imperial Throne, one from the east and one from the west, and close the curtains, and then return to their places. Two Court Ladies then mount the stairs of the Throne of the Empress, one from the east and one from the west, and close the curtains, and then resume their places.

The Emperor and Empress then retire. The Imperial withdrawal is announced by a cry of warning from the Masters of Ceremony. Drums and gongs are sounded three times. This is the signal that the Great Ceremony is ended and that all may retire.

On this same day at the Shin Den and the Kōrei Den of the Imperial Palace of Tōkyō messengers announce the ceremony to the Spirits of the Imperial Ancestors and to the Gods of Heaven and Earth.

At Kyōto on the day following the Sokui Ceremony sacred dances (*Kagura*), are held before the Kashiko Dokoro. Both Emperor and Empress attend.

Chapter VII

PREPARATIONS FOR THE DAIJŌ SAI

The Daijō Sai is the most important celebration of Shintō. It is also one of the most ancient. In it appear rites that antedate all written Japanese history. It is the most archaic and picturesque of all the ceremonies connected with the Enthronement, and at the same time, the most replete with valuable anthropological and historical data. It is performed once at the beginning of the reign of each new Emperor. In it are merged a primitive harvest festival and survivals of the original Japanese Enthronement rites. As pointed out earlier in the discussion, prior to the enthronement ceremonies of Emperor Taishō in 1915 the Daijō Sai was not performed at the time of the Sokui Rei, but sometimes in the autumn immediately succeeding this latter ceremony, sometimes in the autumn of the next year following, and sometimes even later.

The word Daijō Sai is the Sino-Japanese rendering of two ideograms which are used to write an original and independent expression of old Yamato speech read Oho Nihe Matsuri (Ō Nie Matsuri). The word appears also in the literature in the variant forms Oho Nahe Matsuri, Oho Name Matsuri and Oho Mube Matsuri. The element *Oho* which appears in all these titles is honorific, and is translated "Great." *Matsuri* means "Festival," *Nihe*, *Nahe*, *Name* and *Mube* all have reference to new food. The great Eighteenth Century scholar, Motoori Norinaga, explains *Nihe* as a contraction of *Nihe-ahe,* meaning "new food." On good authority then, Daijō Sai, or Oho Nihe Matsuri, may be taken to mean "Great New Food Festival."

Each year, on the twenty-third of November the Japanese people celebrate the Nii Name Matsuri—the Festival of New Food. It is a legal holiday, observed with appropriate ceremonies at Shintō shrines. It is the great autumn harvest festival, when after the rice crop has been

safely gathered in, the people give thanks to the Kami that watch over seed time and harvest. In the Imperial Palace at a special ceremony the Emperor offers the first fruits to the gods and then, himself, partakes of the new rice. The origins of this annual autumn harvest festival are identical with the festival of new food that appears in connection with the Daijō Sai. A close relationship between the two may be seen in the fact that when the Daijō Sai is celebrated the Niiname Matsuri is merged with it, that is, the performance of the former is regarded as taking the place of the latter. As far as harvest festival aspects alone are concerned, the Daijō Sai may be correctly regarded as an enlarged Niiname Matsuri.

Another important item of evidence pointing toward the original identity of these two festivals is to be found in the fact that in the earliest known periods of Japanese history no distinction whatsoever was made between the use of the terms Oho Nihe Matsuri (Daijō Sai) which is now used exclusively of the food ceremony of the Enthronement and Nihi Nahe Matsuri (Niiname Matsuri) which has come down to us as the name of the November harvest festival. A distinction between the use of the two terms does not appear in the literature until the time of Seiwa Tennō (859-876 A.D.). In the beginning, the Oho Nihe Matsuri was the annual harvest festival, observed not merely by the Emperor and his Court, but by the ordinary people as well. It was a time of feasting both gods and men with new food. The new food was not confined merely to rice, but included all edible things such as grains, vegetables, fruits, fish, fowl and meats.

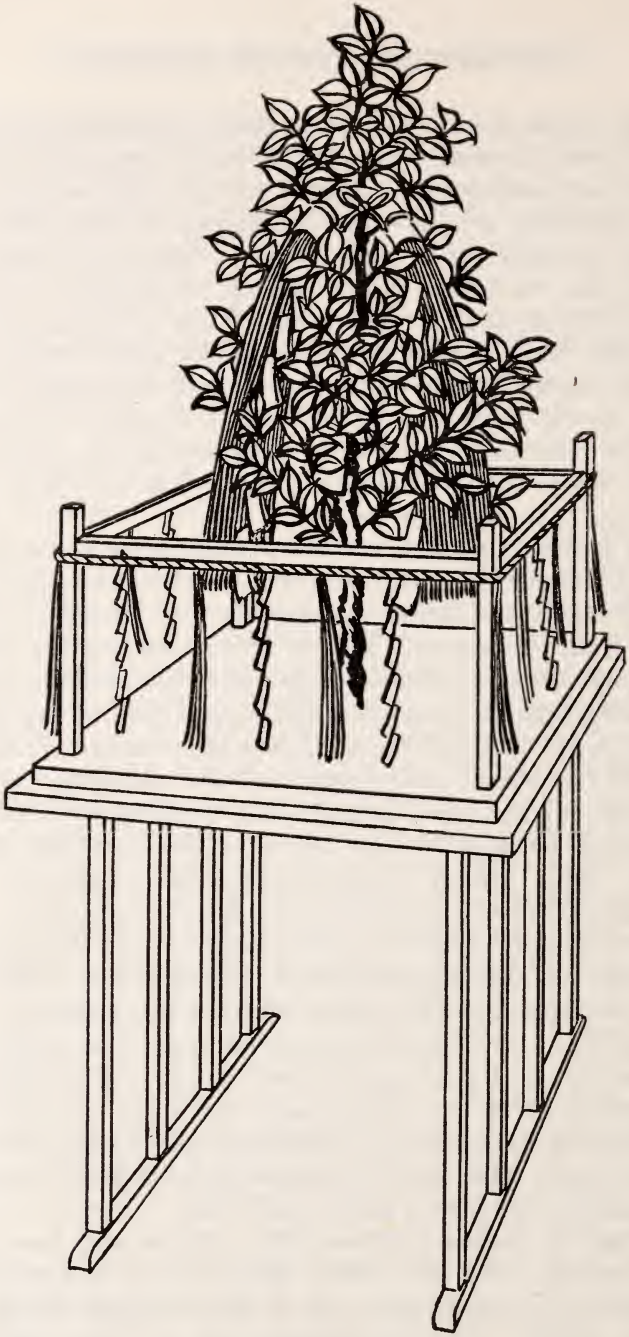
In the Daijō Sai of the present are revived many of the old precautionary practices that existed in primitive Japan as part of normal procedure in the sowing of grain, the cultivation and the gathering of the crops and the final celebration of the harvest. It is the reappearance of these rites out of the remote past that makes the study of the Daijō Sai of particular interest to the student of social origins.

Many of the important observances relating to the Daijō Sai are to be found in connection with preparations

for the great event. It is impossible within the limits of the present discussion to consider these preparatory ceremonies and procedures in detail. In what follows, only the most important of the steps leading up to the Daijō Sai proper are sketched in brief outline. Not all of these are merely the revival of ancient forms, and not all relate to the cultivation and the harvesting of the rice to be used in the final rites. A significant part of the preparations consists in the application of the most modern scientific knowledge to the cultivation of the rice. Certain of the preparatory ceremonies concern the persons who will participate in the Daijō Sai, certain others are related to lands and buildings to be used therein.

The first important ceremony preparatory to the Daijō Sai which should be noted here is the selection by divination of two districts in which the rice for the Emperor's food ritual is to be grown. Two different districts are determined upon for the reason that the food ritual itself is carried out in duplicate ceremonies. The central rites of the Daijō Sai are performed in two small buildings that reproduce in general the simple architecture of the dwellings of the Emperors of primitive Japan. One building is called the Yuki Hall (Yuki Den) and the other the Suki Hall (Suki Den). They are of identical construction, built side by side, and the services performed in them are the same. An account of these structures and a statement of the possible meanings of Yuki and Suki will be given later when the Daijō Sai ritual itself is taken up for consideration. For each of these two Halls separate rice fields are provided. Each of these rice growing districts is designated by the name of the Hall to which it is attached. Thus the Yuki District raises rice to be made into food offerings and *sake* for the service in the Yuki Hall, while the Suki District provides the grain for the service in the Suki Hall.

The Divination Ceremony for determining the Yuki and the Suki Districts of the Daijō Sai of the reigning Emperor was performed at the Tōkyō Imperial Palace on Feb. 5, 1928. The day selected was a "lucky day," a *kichijitsu*, being the first day after Setsubun, or the division

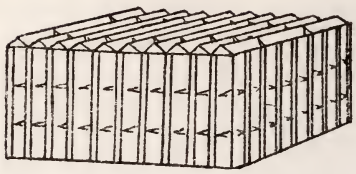


Himorogi.

of the seasons between winter and spring. Before the Shrine of the Gods of Heaven and Earth (Shin Den) was constructed a "Divination Shelter" in the form of a temporary thatched structure measuring nine *shaku* across the front and eighteen *shaku* in depth. About it was hung a light blue curtain. Within the Shelter was placed a Himorogi and before this the ceremony which links the present with the past was performed. The Himorogi probably represents the most primitive Shintō shrine. It consists of a branch of the sacred evergreen tree of Shintō, called Sakaki (*Cleyera Japonica*) hung with streamers of hemp and paper and surrounded by a small fence hung with the same materials. The entire device is often mounted on an eight-legged table. In the divination service three tables for offerings are placed before the Himorogi and in front of these a rush mat (*sugomo*) is laid. In front of the Divination Shelter clean sand is spread. This sanded area is called the Divination Garden (*Ura Niwa*).

When all preparations have been completed, at the appointed day and hour, the Chief Ritualist of the Imperial Court, the Chairman of the Enthronement Commission, high officials of the Enthronement Commission, and other high dignitaries and officiating ritualists take their places before the Shin Den. The first movement of the ceremony is the carrying out of the ordinary ritual of Shintō worship before the Deities of Heaven and Earth. While Kagura Uta is being rendered the doors of the shrine are opened, food and drink offerings are presented and the Chief Ritualist reads a prayer (*norito*).

Immediately following this the divination service proper is performed. The actual divining rites take place on the sanded area before the Divination Shelter. At the close of the worship before the Shin Den the Chief Ritualist and other priests pass to their position for performing divination. A ceremonial box made of willow wood and containing writing material is placed on one of the tables within the Shelter. A *norito* is then read summoning two ancient deities of divination named Ame-no-Koyane-no-Mikoto and Futo-Tama-no-Mikoto to come down into the Himorogi.



Box of Willow Wood, tied together with strings.

Then while soft music is played, a ritualist who has been carefully prepared in mind and body by three days of special purification rites, kindles a fire by rubbing together two pieces of *hinoki* ("fire-tree"). He catches the spark of pure fire thus created on some specially prepared wood and then, when the flames burn up strongly, holds a tortoise shell over them until it is crackled by the heat. During this period all of those present, and particularly the ritualists conducting the rites, endeavor to keep their spirits calmly receptive to the divine influences with which the place is filled. The shell upon which the Kami reveal their will is cut in a shape that roughly resembles the form of a tortoise. The lower part is square, the upper part is triangular suggesting the head of the creature. The shell measures five *sun* in width and eight *sun* at the longest dimension. The markings on the shell are read according to a traditional secret formula, and the indication of the will of the Kami thus determined is written on a paper, sealed and placed in the box before the Himorogi. After this Kagura Uta is again rendered and the gods are returned to Heaven. Later the box containing the written revelation is handed over to the Chairman of the Enthronement Commission who opens and reads the report. He makes known the result to the Prime Minister, who in turn reports to the Emperor.

In such wise it was revealed as the divine will that, in the Shōwa Enthronement Ceremonies, Shiga Prefecture, which comprises the country surrounding Lake Biwa to the east of Kyōto, should be the Yuki District, and that Fukuoka Prefecture in northern Kyūshū should be the Suki District. Shiga Prefecture has been selected repeatedly in the past as the Yuki District; Fukuoka Prefecture, and in fact the Island of Kyūshū as a whole, is favored with the divine choice for the first time in history. The divination ceremony just outlined determines only the general prefectural areas within which the sacred rice shall be grown. The actual

choice of the precise land to be cultivated is left to the decision of the governor of the prefecture concerned.

Reliance on divine guidance in determining the most favorable places wherein to grow the sacred rice is supplemented by wise human precautions. Detailed instructions to be applied in the selection and the cultivation of the *Saiden,* or Sacred Fields, were issued by the national Department of Agriculture and Forestry on February 9, 1928. A summary of these regulations follows. The fields selected must belong to rural families possessed of the double blessings of adequate property and sound health. The area of the patch to be cultivated must be about five *tan* [a *tan* is almost exactly one-fourth of an English acre]. The land must be so distributed as to make it possible to cultivate it as a unified piece. It must be convenient for transportation, and protected as far as possible from the risks of flood and storm. It must be near to a river so as to facilitate the carrying out of the necessary purification ceremonies. It must possess advantages both from the points of view of irrigation and drainage. It must be situated in a district that is advanced in agricultural knowledge and that enjoys a reputation for benevolence as well as for other good manners and customs. Districts having local maladies and places that have recently been visited by epidemics of contagious diseases must be avoided.

After applying all these precautions it was determined on March 15, 1928, that the Yuki Field should be a particular spot in Mikami Village of Yasu County (*Gun*) in Shiga Prefecture, and that the Suki Field should be a particular spot in Wakiyama Village of Sagara County in Fukuoka Prefecture.

Directions for cultivating the Sacred Fields are fully as detailed and explicit as those relating to selection just summarized. The yield from the fields must be handed over to the Ritualists of the Imperial Household Department at Kyōto by October seventeenth. Between the time of harvesting and of delivering at Kyōto the grains must be prepared in various ways. This necessitates the harvesting of the crop betwen September fifteenth and twentieth.

Accordingly, the seeds selected must be of a variety that ripens earlier than is ordinarily the case. Such early rice is not commonly grown in Japan because of the fact that early ripening lessens the yield. Thus because the rice used in the Daijō Sai is of a variety that ripens early, the planting takes place a week or more earlier than in the case of ordinary rice, and transplanting is performed at least two weeks earlier than ordinary transplanting. Fertilizers and methods of cultivation adopted are all directed to hastening the fruition.

Further regulations specify such details as permission to employ cattle and horses in cultivation, prohibition against using manure as fertilizer, and instructions that the men and women who engage in the cultivation shall be clean in person and wear unsoiled garments. Care must also be taken in cultivation to avoid injury to the crops by birds, insects or disease. The fields are protected from winds by making the surrounding embankments high, also by erecting screens of bamboo mats and by stretching light ropes between the rows of growing plants to prevent their being blown over in the wind. Surrounding the fields are high fences of interwoven bamboo. Prior to beginning cultivation, the seed beds, the fields, the implements of agriculture, the seeds, the fertilizers and all persons engaging in the labor of cultivation are carefully purified by Shintō rites. After the harvest and the separation of the grain from the stalks elaborate care is given to hulling, cleaning and polishing. Following a preliminary cleaning the rice is placed in bags of linen or of cotton and carefully rubbed by hand until the hulls are removed. It is then with painstaking care sorted over by hand one grain at a time, and all defective or broken kernels removed. Afterwards it is placed in bags of white silk (*habutae*) and once more rubbed by hand until thoroughly cleansed and polished. About a week is given to this labor by the students of local schools and by members of young men's associations.

Between the time of the selection of the Sacred Fields and the final presentation of the yield of the harvest at Kyōto, various religious ceremonies are carried out in connec-

tion with the growing and preparation of the rice. Between the middle and the end of April the Ceremony of Purifying the Sacred Fields (Saiden no Shūbatsu Shiki) is performed. This is followed by the Ceremony of Breaking Ground (Kuwaire Shiki), and this in turn by the Ceremony of Planting (Tane Maki Shiki). Also toward the end of April is carried out the so-called Mi na Guchi Sai ("Water Mouth Ceremony") for the purification of waters entering the fields and the securing of their influx in exactly the right amounts. This is followed at the end of May or the first of June by the Rice Planting Ceremony (Mita Ue Shiki) when the young plants are transferred from the seed-beds to the paddy fields. In the middle of August there takes place the Saijō Jichin Sai in which the land to be used for the buildings and sacred areas (*saijō*) in the rites of gathering the grain is consecrated. In the middle of September occurs the "Ceremony of Plucking the Grain Heads" (Nukiho Shiki). Finally in the middle of October the Ceremony of Presenting the New Grain (Shinkoku Kyōnō Shiki) is carried out at Kyōto.

The most important of these observances is the Nukiho Shiki, the Ceremony of Plucking the Grain Heads. When the rice is ripe Imperial Commissioners are sent to the Sacred Fields from the Imperial Household Department and the ceremony of gathering the grain is carried out. In ancient times these commissioners—called Nukiho Zukai, "Ear-plucking Messengers"—were selected by divination in the Department of Shintō Rites from among the members of the Shintō priesthood. On arrival at the localities of the Sacred Fields they went in company with the local officials to the river near which each of the fields was situated and carried out elaborate purification ceremonies. The ancient harvest rites were very complicated, and various functionaries and forms appeared which have been eliminated in the modern procedure. After the purification ceremony the participants went in procession, with the Imperial Commissioner at their head, to the Sacred Field and a young unmarried woman, bearing the title of Saka tsu Ko, or "*Sake*-Child" gathered the first stalks. The rice of the four bunches

first gathered was used in the great communion meal carried out between the Emperor and the Kami in the food ritual of the Daijō Sai. The remainder was used for white and black *sake*. The entire plant was plucked, one stalk at a time, hence the designation *nukiho*, from *nuku*, "to pluck up," and *ho*, "grain head." The rice stalks were gathered in bundles and placed in specially prepared baskets, one bundle to each basket. Two baskets constituted a load. Each basket was decked with Sakaki branches and streamers of white bark-paper to mark the sacred character of the contents and to protect the rice from contamination. Then in a stately procession, headed and followed by priests, the baskets were carried to the capital.

As compared with ancient procedure, the modern ceremony is considerably simplified. The ceremony proper is performed on the western side of the Sacred Field. Here a conscrated area, called the Saijō, is marked out and in its very center is built a small god-house, named the Yashin Den, or the Hall of the Eight Gods. The structure measures twelve *shaku* across the front and fifteen *shaku* in depth. It is made of unbarked wood, thatched with *Miscanthus*, and with walls of rush matting. It faces the east. Here are worshipped eight ancient gods of food. Just to the north of the Yashin Den is erected with the same kind of materials a second small shrine called the Inami no Ya, the "Rice Fruit House." The building measures twelve *shaku* in width and nine in depth. It is entered from the north. A point in connection with this building that should be noted with particular care is that it has no "God-seat" (*Shinza*), that is to say, it is without the interior sanctuary wherein the enshrined Kami is believed to find residence. In the place of the god-seat are ceremonial stands for holding the new grain. The god of this shrine is the new rice itself, or rather the Rice Spirit. Three other small buildings stand on the consecrated area.

When everything is ready the Imperial Commissioner, followed by priests and participating dignitaries, all robed in ceremonial garments, proceeds to the central sanctuary and offers a *norito* announcing the rice gathering ceremony.

The eight gods of food are worshipped. The Imperial Commissioner then gives command to the governor of the prefecture that the harvest begin. The governor gives command to the Owner of the Field (Ōta Nushi). Then the Ōta Nushi and a group of harvesters dressed in the simple garb of the peasantry of ancient times, enter the field and pluck up by the roots several bunches of the ripened grain. These first fruits are placed on ceremonial stands in the consecrated area, and at the request of the governor the Imperial Commissioner conducts an examination thereof. This concluded, the trays are taken by the Ōta Nushi and placed in the Rice Fruit House. Then all present worship, the gods are sent back to Heaven and the service is concluded.

The remainder of the crop is harvested by ordinary modern methods.

After the elaborate processes of cleaning, hulling, sorting, re-cleaning and polishing already described have been completed the rice is placed in sacks of double white linen. These are then deposited in long four-legged ceremonial boxes, (called Karabitsu), carried on poles, and taken to the railroad. Here the boxes are placed in a car constructed especially for the purpose by the Railway Bureau and transported to Kyōto. The railroad car is made in two compartments, providing a room for the Sacred Rice in the forepart, and quarters for attendants in the rear. The Karabitsu are taken from the car at Kyōto and carried by young men through the purified streets of the city and after a final purification ceremony, are lodged in the Sacred Store House (Saiko) within the Palace grounds.[1] This store house is arranged with northern and southern sections. The southern part is for the rice to be used in the food ritual of the Yuki Den, the northern part for the rice of the Suki Den ceremony. Around the building is a bamboo fence and at the entrance a *torii*. The store house is in reality a shrine and the rice is treated as Kami.

[1] In all three *koku* of polished rice and five *shō* of unpolished rice are delivered. A *koku* equals about 5.13 bushels. A *shō* is about 1.58 quarts. The white and the black *sake* for the Daijō Sai are brewed within the grounds of the Kamo Wake Ikadzuchi Shrine of Kyōto.

Another important ceremony preparatory to the Daijō Sai is the Jichin Sai, meaning the "Land Tranquilization Ceremony." It is otherwise known as the Toko Shizume no Matsuri. The object of the service is to purify and make ready the sites of the Yuki Den and of the Suki Den. The ceremony is carried out in August prior to the erection of these two shrines. It is an act of worship directed toward the guardian Kami of the locality, who preside over the earth on which these two buildings are to stand, and is interpreted by the modern ritualists as a prayer that the ground may be firm and subject to not even the slightest tremor of earthquake.

Just before the Daijō Sai two important ceremonies of purification are carried out, one of the person of the Emperor, the other of the members of the Imperial Family and all dignitaries who will directly participate in the Daijō Sai rites. The Emperor's purification is called Misogi ("Body-cleansing"). The ceremony consists in the presentation to the Emperor by priests and chamberlains of purification garments and of a purification wand called a *nusa*. The Emperor returns these to the ritualists and they are cast away on flowing water. Formerly the Emperor proceeded in person to the banks of the Kamo River near Kyōto, and, entering the stream, purified himself in running water. The purification day was observed as an occasion for giving alms to widows and widowers. At the height of the mediæval period the procession to the Kamo river was a pageant of great magnificence. The Emperor was borne in a palaquin and with him went a retinue of over one thousand five hundred persons and more than one hundred horses.

The second purification ceremony, called Ōharai ("Great Driving-out") is performed just outside of the Shōmei Gate of the Southern Court of the Shinshin Den. It is attended by members of the Imperial Family and by all others who participate directly in the Daijō Sai. While all stand, a priest reads a purification ritual (*norito*). Then a second priest takes his place in front of the people and drives out all impurity by waving before them a device called an Ō Nusa, which from ancient times has been used

Rice

Nusa

Ō Nusa

Kirinusa
(Cut hempfiber)

Salt

Shintō Purification Devices.

in Shintō rituals as a means of magical purification. The Ō Nusa consists of a branch of Sakaki hung with cut paper and linen fiber. In accomplishing the driving out of impurity it is waved sharply to the left once, then once to the right and then back again to the left. Prior to the modern period, as part of the preparation for the Daijō Sai, Great Purification Messengers (Ōharai Shi) went throughout the length and breadth of the land and carried out the purification of the entire nation. Both of the purification ceremonies described above are performed on November 12.

On the day before the Daijō Sai the buildings and gateways to be used in this ceremony are purified and consecrated with old Shintō rites. The service is called the Daijōgū no Chin Sai—"Ceremony of Tranquilizing the Daijō Shrines." It is essentially a magico-religious worship of certain ancient deities that preside over buildings and gateways. It consists of two parts, the Den Sai, or Building Ceremony, and the Mon Sai, or the Gate Ceremony. The interiors of the Yuki and the Suki Halls are divided into two separate rooms, called in each case the "Inner Chamber" (Naijin) and the "Outer Chamber" (Gwaijin). The ceremony begins with the Inner Chamber of the Yuki Hall. In the four corners of the room Sakaki branches tied with hemp fiber are erected and then about the bases of these are scattered rice, salt and small charms called *kirinusa*, made of clipped hemp fiber. Then food offerings are presented in the Outer Chamber, a *norito* is read and the guarding deities of the building are worshipped. The same ceremony is then performed in the Suki Hall.

The rites then shift to the worship of the gods of the gateways.[2] To the right and the left of the four entrances to the enclosure about the Yuki and the Suki Halls—on the south, north, west and east—Sakaki tied with *nusa* are set up, and salt, rice, and *kirinusa* are scattered about. Then at the southern entrance the deities of gateways are worshipped by the presentation of food offerings and the read-

[2] The guardian gods of gates are, Ama-no-Iwato-Wake-no-Kami, Kushi-Iwa-Mado-no-Kami and Toyo-Iwa-Mado-no-Kami. The Kogoshūi says that the two last named are also guardian deities of buildings.

ing of a *norito*. The "Building Ceremony" is then carried out in the Kairyū Den, which is the Emperor's Ablution Hall standing north of the Yuki and the Suki Halls. It is here in the Kairyū Den that the Emperor purifies himself prior to carrying out the food ritual in each of these two shrines.

On the night prior to the beginning of the Daijō Sai is carried out the Spirit Pacification Ceremony, called the Chinkon Sai or the Mitama-Shizume-no-Matsuri. The primary purpose of this service is to tranquilize the spirit of the Emperor and to co-ordinate diverse psychological elements within him so as to equip him to pass safely through the momentous events of the following night. The ceremony also effects a prolongation of the Emperor's life. The same service is performed for the Empress. The Chinkon Sai is, as a matter of fact, an annual event of the Imperial Court, carried out just before the Niiname Sai. The place of the yearly service is a shrine called the Ryōki Den situated to the rear of the three great Palace shrines. At the time of the Enthronement Ceremonies the Chinkon Sai is performed in the Kyōto Imperial Palace.

The Chinkon Sai can be understood only in proportion as we acquaint ourselves with a primitive conception regarding multiple spirits. Such a view was held by the ancient Japanese. It was, and still is, widely prevalent among other peoples. Some peoples believe in the existence of two, some three, some four, some in as many as seven different souls or spirits which inhabit the body of the individual person. The psychology of the ancient Japanese seems to have made room for four of these independent souls—a "gentle spirit," a "rough spirit," a "luck spirit," and a "wondrous spirit."[3]

These spirits might any or all wander from the body and thus be separated from the original person at a time of crisis. In the Chinkon Sai, as carried out in ancient Japan, powerful means were used to restrain all these spirits within the body. The purpose was to make sure that no element of the Emperor's total psychological equipment should be

[3] For an excellent discussion of these early beliefs as related to Old Shintō, see Katō, Genchi, *A Study of Shintō, the Religion of the Japanese Nation*, pp. 32-47.

straying without the body at the time of the Niiname Sai or the Daijō Sai. The means originally used to accomplish this end were magical. This ancient magical ceremonial is re-enacted at the time of the Daijō Sai, but is now enterpreted as essentially a prayer for tranquil spirits and long lives for their Majesties.

The preparation for the Chinkon Sai involves first the making ready of a temporary shrine by setting up two Himorogi. From the standpoint of one facing these, the Himorogi on the right hand is regarded as the dwelling place of eight ancient Kami[4] enshrined in the Shinden of the Tōkyō Palace, while the one on the left hand is for a god of the Old Shintō pantheon named Ōnaobi-no-Kami, who rectifies all errors and sets all wrongs aright. After these nine deities have been summoned to take up temporary residence in the Himorogi, Kagura Uta is rendered, and during this interval the so-called eight treasures are carried in and placed before the Himorogi. These eight treasures consist of a sword, a bow, two arrows, twenty bells called *suzu*, twenty bells of another kind called *taku*, a roll of coarse silk cloth, five pounds (*kin*) of a cloth of ancient make called *yufu* and ten pounds of linen. Other offerings consisting of *sake*, cakes of pounded rice (*mochi*), sea fish, river fish, sea weed and vegetables are also placed before the Himorogi.

The explanation of the use of the "eight treasures" is that when the Imperial Grandson, Ninigi-no-Mikoto, came down from Heaven he brought with him ten auspicious treasures, which later found their way into the possession of Jimmu Tennō and were used throughout successive generations in prolonging the lives of the Emperors. These treasures make an interesting list. They were a Mirror of the Offing, a Mirror of the Shore, a Yata Mirror, a Yata Sword, a Life-inspiring Jewel, a Jewel of Perfect Health and Strength, a Jewel for Resuscitating the Dead, a Jewel for Warding Off Evil from Roads, a Serpent-preventing Scarf, a Bee-preventing Scarf, and a Scarf of Various Materials and Efficacies. They were one and all magical objects re-

[4] To be distinguished from the eight food gods of the Nukiho Shiki.

lated to the protection and preservation of life. If one shook these objects about and counted, "One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten," such mighty power would be released from them as would recall even the dead to life. In the modern Chinkon Sai "eight treasures" of a very different character are introduced in the rites as a ceremonial remembrance of these old magical devices.

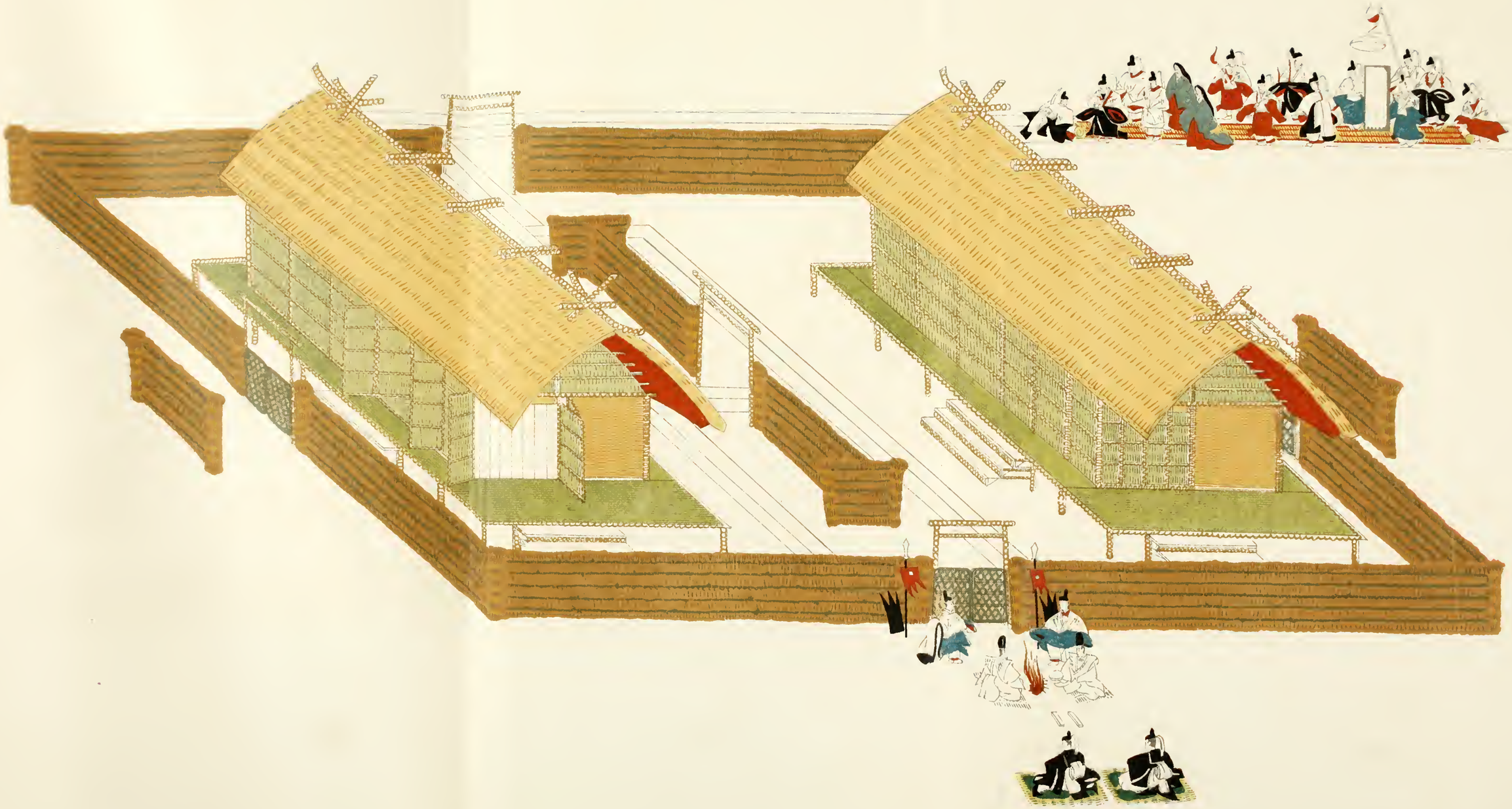
After the treasures and the offerings have been placed a priest enters bearing two ceremonial boxes made of willow wood, one containing clothes belonging to the Emperor and the other a sacred cord of thick white silk, called Ontama-no-Wo,[5] which represents the life of the Emperor. These are placed on tables within a specially dedicated area before the Himorogi. The chief ritualist then claps his hands together thirty-two times, in four series of eight claps each. Then a female ritualist, holding bells in one hand and a vine-draped spear in the other, mounts an object resembling an inverted tub, called Ukefune, and performs a dance. She strikes the tub with the spear and with each blow counts—"One, two, three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, ten." With each count a priest ties a knot in the Emperor's life-cord (the Ontama-no-Wo). The cord is then returned to its box. The chief ritualist then takes the box containing the Emperor's garments and standing before the Kami shakes the box ten times, and then returns it to its table. The boxes are then carried out. Following this the garments and the Ontama-no-Wo of the Empress are brought in and the same ceremony is carried out with them.

The mythological prototype of the dance on the Ukefune is to be found in that performed by Uzume-no-Mikoto before the Rock-cave of Heaven at the time of the withdrawal of the Sun Goddess. With this dance the Sun Goddess was pleased and her disturbed spirit pacified. Here again the rite is probably much older than the myth which supposedly explains its origin. The Chinkon Sai is worthy of detailed study as an excellent example of magical causation. The introduction of treasures which represent certain primitive devices for protecting and restoring life, the pro-

[5] Ontama-no-Wo probably means "Great Life Master."

longed clapping of the hands, the counting, the unusual dance, the shaking of the garments, the tying of a life-cord which thereby binds the Emperor's spirit so that no part can wander away, all these details are parts of an ancient ritual of magic, which, as is frequently the case with magical survivals elsewhere, are now given symbolical interpretation. In such survivals Shintō ceremonies are particularly rich. They impart a depth of historical continuity and a richness of color to the Enthronement Ceremonies that constitute no small part of the peculiar attraction that attaches to the study of these rites.

With the various ceremonies and procedures described above the main preparations for the Daijō Sai are accomplished.



The Daijō Gū. To the right is the Yuki Hall to the left the Suki Hall.

From an old print in the *Kojiruien*.

Chapter VIII

THE DAIJŌ SAI: THE GREAT NEW FOOD FESTIVAL

The principal rites of the Daijō Sai take place inside of the two buildings of primitive type, called the Yuki and the Suki Halls, to which attention has already been directed. The general name given these two buildings as well as the enclosure within which they stand, including certain other attached structures made use of in the ceremonies, is Daijō Gū, which means Daijō Shrine. Prior to the modern period the Daijō Gū was usually laid out in the Southern Court of the Shinshin Den. For the Enthronement Rites of Emperor Taishō in 1915 the Daijō Gū was built in the Gardens of the Sendō Palace of Kyōto.

In the architecture and furnishings of the Daijō Gū, as well as in the food ritual and other rites carried out therein, modern Japan re-lives her ancient past. The enclosure of the Daijō Gū is surrounded by a simple brush-wood fence, measuring six *shaku* in height, sixteen *ken* [one *ken* equals six *shaku*] from east to west and ten *ken* from north to south. On the day of the great ceremony the fence is decorated with boughs of Pasania tree hung with streamers of white bark-paper called *shide*. At the middle of each of the four sides of the enclosure is a gateway, called the Southern God-gate (Minami Shin Mon), the Northern God-gate (Kita Shin Mon), the Eastern God-gate (Higashi Shin Mon) and the Western God-gate (Nishi Shin Mon), respectively. Each gateway is guarded by a *torii* made of plain unbarked wood. The *torii* measures eight *shaku* in width and nine *shaku* in height, with the exception of the one on the north which is ten *shaku* high. A brushwood fence, provided with a God-gate in the middle, extends north and south between the Yuki and the Suki Halls. Surrounding the brushwood enclosure at a little distance is a larger

PLAN OF THE DAIJŌ GŪ—WHERE THE GREAT NEW FOOD FESTIVAL IN HELD

1.—Kairyū Den—The Emperor's Ablution Hall.

2.—Yuki Den—Where the Yuki Food Ritual is performed.

3.—Suki Den—Where the Suki Food Ritual is performed.

4.—The Yuki Cook House (Yuki Kashiwaya).

5.—The Suki Cook House (Suki Kashiwaya).

6-7.—Chō Den—Halls of Attendance for the Empress.

8-9.—Tables for Nationl Offerngs (Niwazumi Mono).

10.—Hall of Attendance for Retinue of Empress (Dengai Omi no Akusha).

11-12.—Halls of Attendance for Retinue of Emperor (Omi no Akusha).

13-14.—Exterior Halls of Attendance for Guests (Migi no Akusha and Hidari no Akusha).

15-18.—Halls for Musicians.

19.—Hall for Changing Robes (Hikaejo).

20.—Main Gate of Sendo Palace.

21.—Northern God-gate.

22.—Southern God-gate.

23.—Western God-gate.

24.—Eastern God-gate.

25-34—Guards of Honor.

From *Tairei Shashinchō, Taishō Yonen.*

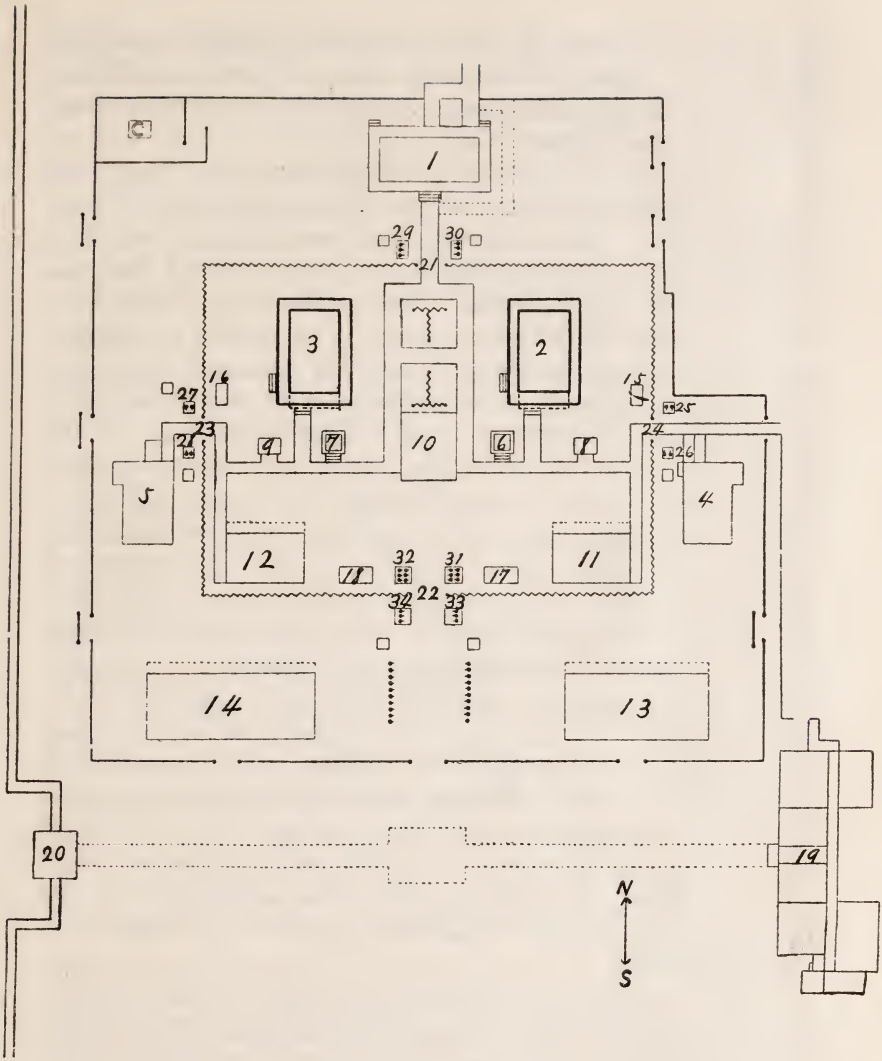


Diagram of Daijō Gū.—*See facing page.*

enclosure entered by gates on all sides except the north, and beyond this again are the outer walls of the Sendō Palace Grounds, approached through the Main Gateway (Sei Mon) lying to the southwest of the Daijō Gū.

Within the brushwood enclosure stand the Yuki Den and the Suki Den, the former on the eastern side, the latter on the western. They reproduce in form and size the primitive Japanese dwelling, which, as already pointed out, has survived into modern times in the architecture of the more simply constructed Shintō shrines. They stand on piles, a fact which among numerous others has attracted more than one Japanese student to comparisons with the architecture of the Malayo-Polynesian areas. The cross-beams of the roof project beyond the ridges, which are set at intervals with boles of wood, called *katsugi*. The two Halls are built in exact duplicate, each measuring three *ken*[1] from east to west and five *ken* from north to south. The posts and all other timbers are of rough unbarked pine. The roofs are thatched with *Miscanthus*. The walls and the ceilings are of matting. Surrounding each building is a veranda with floor of bamboo covered with rush matting. The eastern half of the southern face of each building is made into an entrance, provided with double, swinging doors and hung with a screen of bamboo, which can be rolled up so as to provide easy passage. Within this again are curtains of cloth. The Emperor enters by this southern door-way. A second entrance for the use of other participants in the ceremony is provided at the southern end of the western face of the building.

Just without the Northern God-gate stands the Emperor's Ablution Hall (the Kairyū Den), connected by covered corridors with the Yuki and the Suki Halls. To the south of each of these two halls stands a small building called the Chō Den where the Empress attends. Between the two Chō Den is a larger place-of-waiting for the retinue of the Empress. At the southeastern and the southwestern corners of the inner enclosure are buildings called Omi Aku Sha where Princes and high dignitaries in the suite of the

[1] The *ken* used in this case measures eight *shaku*.

Emperor attend. Outside of the Southern God-gate are two large structures, one toward the east and one toward the west where guests privileged to attend the ceremonies wait. There are also music halls, shelters for watch fires and certain other minor buildings.

The meanings of the words *Yuki* and *Suki* are unsolved problems in Japanese philology. The terms have long been obsolete in the every-day language of the people, except as proper nouns. They have been handed down from remote generations in literature and in ceremony, but no existing evidence in either of these fields is sufficiently explicit and reliable to make certain beyond all doubt what the words actually meant in early times. Opinions on this point differ widely among Japanese scholars. The Nihongi in the Chronicle of Temmu Tennō (Temmu Tennōki), explains *yuki* with two ideograms which properly mean "consecrated-purified," or perhaps better, "tabooed-purified." The same chronicle says that *suki* means "next" or "following," which would make it simply an earlier form of the term *tsugi* of modern Japanese speech, meaning also "next" or "following." Japanese scholars while commonly accepting this early explanation of *yuki,* tend to repudiate the derivation of *suki,* largely on the ground that logic seems to demand that *suki* have a meaning more congruous with that of *yuki.* To take *suki* as referring to something following *yuki,* as if the latter were first in importance and the former second, is regarded as hardly reasonable.

The great Motoori Norinaga explained *sugi* in the sense of *susugi kiyomeru,* that is as a contraction of these two words, with the meaning of "cleanse-purify." The consensus of Japanese exegetical opinion follows this derivation. Very recently, however, Mr. Kiyonuki Yatsuka, who is one of the best known contemporary Shintō scholars and himself a ritualist of the Imperial Household Department, in a discussion entitled "Concerning Yuki and Suki,"[2] has brought forward certain data that raise considerable doubt regarding the legitimacy of Motoori's derivation. Briefly stated, Mr. Yatsuka's view is that in accounting for *suki* we

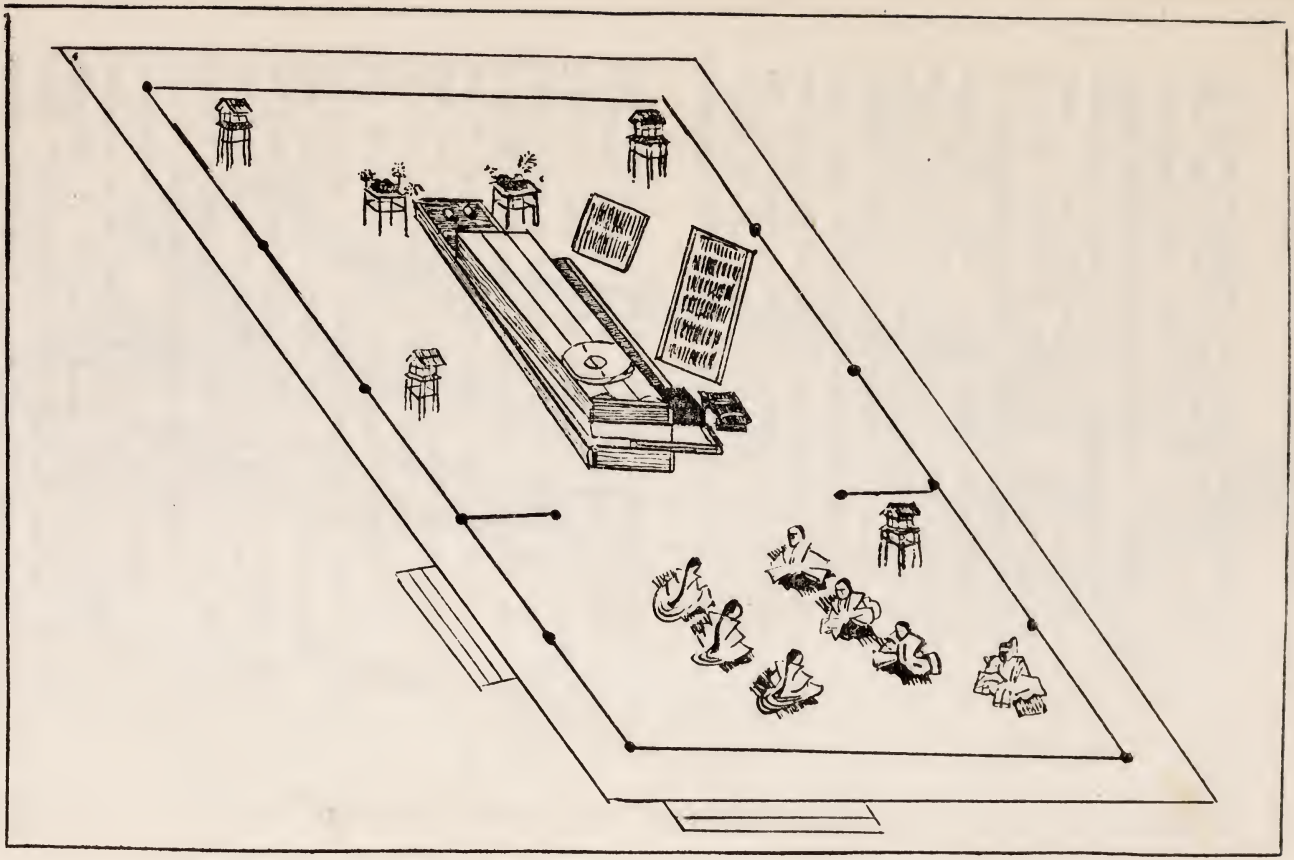
[2] See *Chūō Shidan* (中央史壇), June, 1928, pp. 126 ff.

may safely follow the statement of the Temmu Tennōki that it means "next" or "following." The modern form *tsugi*, "next," was pronounced *suki* in ancient times. *Suki* means the service that follows after the *Yuki*.. It is a second *Yuki*. First and second here refer not to order of importance but merely to sequence of time. The author then calls attention to the significant fact that at the Grand Imperial Shrine of Ise on the occasions of three of the great annual ceremonies, namely, the Tsukinami Matsuri ("Monthly Festival") of June and of December, and the Kanname Matsuri ("Divine New Food Festival) of October,[3] in each of these observances there is celebrated at ten o'clock at night the *Yuki no Yube no Ō Mike* ("Consecrated-purified Great Evening Food-offering") and then immediately following this at two o'clock in the morning the *Yuki no Ashita no Ō Mike* ("Consecrated-purified Great Morning Food-offering"). It will be noticed that the archaic term *Yuki* is used with reference to both of these service. They concern food-offering just as does the great service of the Daijō Sai. Furthermore, they take place at exactly the same hours as do the two food rituals of the Daijō Sai.

The conclusion is that in ancient times *Yuki* and *Suki* referred to two services connected with purified food-offerings. Both were *yuki* rituals, that is, in either case the food was consecrated and tabooed (*yuki*). The second of these must have originally been called the *Suki no Yuki*, which in modern Japanese would be read *Tsugi no Yuki*, or the second *Yuki*. In the Daijō Sai the older expression, *Suki no Yuki*, has been abbreviated to *Suki*. Yuki Den then simply means the Consecrated-purified (Food) Hall, while Suki Den means the Next (Consecrated-purified Food) Hall.

On the early morning of November fourteenth the interiors of the Yuki and the Suki Halls are made ready for the ceremonies of the coming night. The installation of the more important articles, however, does not take place until evening. Each building is prepared in exact duplicate of the other with interior furnishings that challenge attention as the most remarkable objects of all the multitude of

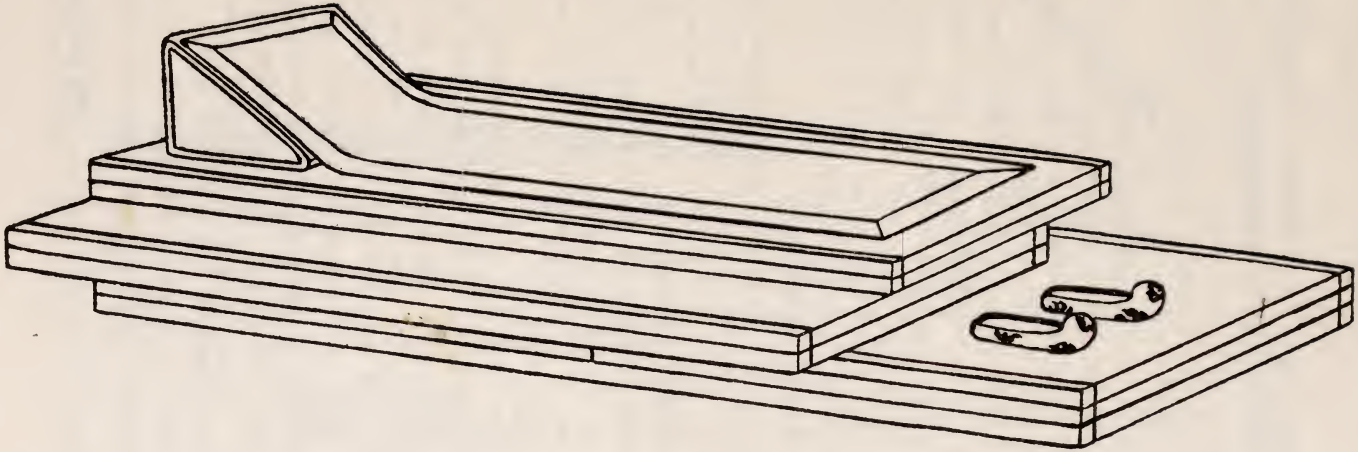
[8] To be distinguished from the November Niiname Matsuri.



Sketch of the Interior of the Yuki Den. From an old print in the library of Kyōto Fu.
The Comb and Fan here appear on a small table to the east of the Shinza.

rare forms and devices that appear in connection with the enthronement rites. The furnishings of the ritual halls and the various ceremonial utensils that now appear, reproduce in a large measure the materials of ordinary Japanese life, not of a few centuries past, but of remoter ages that must be reckoned by at least two thousand years. So consecrated are these objects by time, so sacred are they by associations with Emperors and Kami, that an atmosphere of mystery and awe surrounds them still. The old taboos which from earliest days have rigorously set them off from all that is common and unclean have never been altogether lifted from them. Prior to modern times Japanese scholars have been imprisoned for venturing to publish what they knew regarding the interior of the Daijō Gū and the rites that transpired there. At present, however, thanks to the enlightened policy of the authorities, most of the details of both furnishings and ritual can be studied with openness and exactitude.

The doorway between the inner and outer chambers of each ritual hall is hung with a reed screen bordered with white paper; around the walls of the inner sanctum are hung curtains of white cloth. In the evening court ritualist place the *Shinza*, or "God-seat" in the middle of the inner room. It is a great couch made of large rectangular slabs of pressed straw (*tatami*). It is set with head to the south and foot to the north. For the foundation of the couch six *tatami* are placed end to end, thus providing a base three feet (*shaku*) wide and twelve feet long. Above this are laid two *tatami* three feet wide and nine feet long, so placed as to overlap the foundation *tatami* by a foot or more, thus providing a broad shelf extending along the entire eastern side of the couch. On top of these are laid, in position corresponding with the lowest tier, two *tatami* nine feet in length. The height of the couch is brought to approximately that of an ordinary bed. At the head is placed a peculiar pillow of triangular shape, known as the *saka makura*, the "hill-pillow." Over the uppermost *tatami* and the pillow are spread, one above the other eight successive layers of reed matting—the so-



The Shinza, or God-seat, of the Daijō Sai. The Throne of the Emperor of Old Japan was a Couch.

By courtesy of Dr. Masanao Sekine.

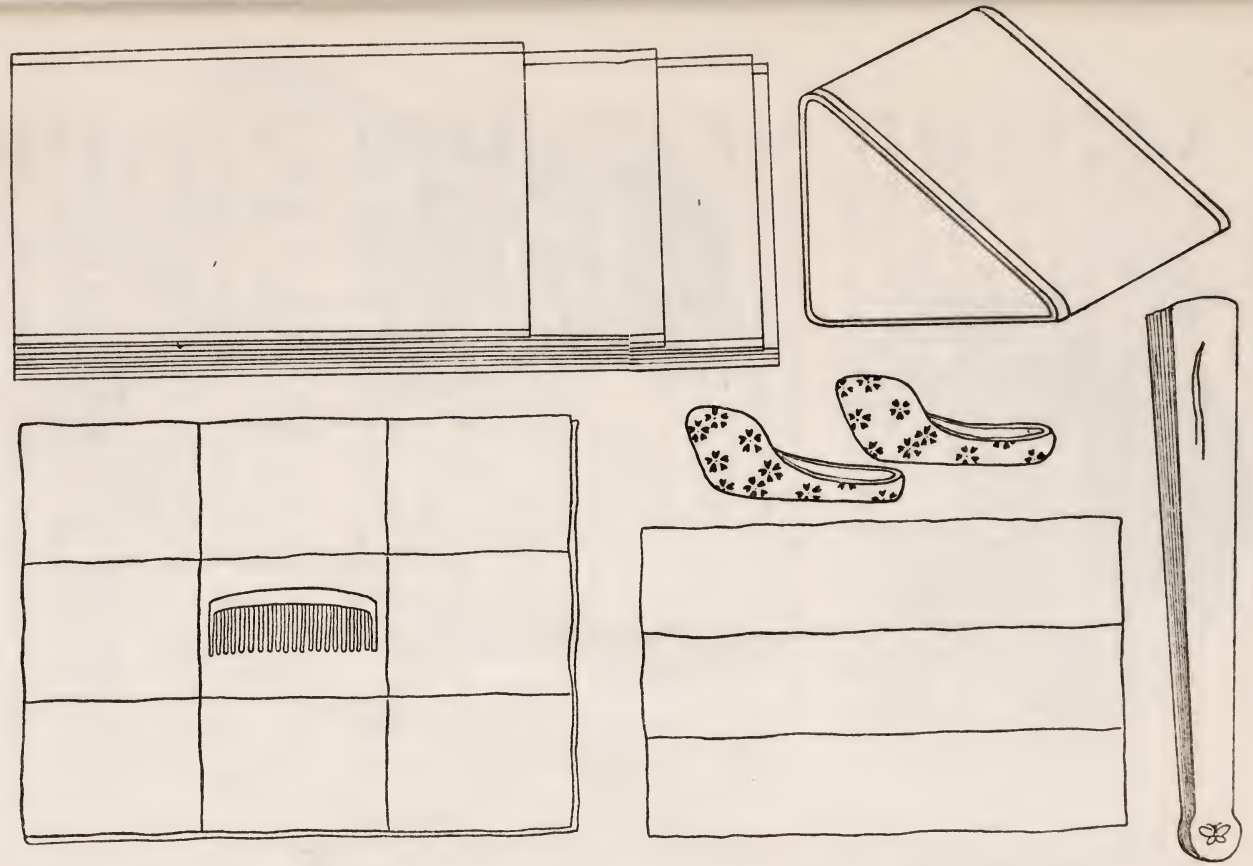
called *haya-tatami,* "eight-fold matting." Completely covering the eight-fold matting is spread a cloth of pure white raw silk, known as the *On-fusuma.* At the head of the coach above the pillow is folded a simple unlined garment of white silk. This is called the *On-hitoe.*

On the shelf to the east of the pillow, rests a ceremonial box of willow (*yanagi bako*) containing a folded cloth of soft white silk. It is called the *uchi-barai-nuno*, or the "strike-drive-off-cloth." The length has varied from age to age, being variously given in ancient documents in figures that range from six to thirteen *shaku.* The original usage of the cloth has long since been forgotten. It may represent a primitive garment; the name with which it is designated suggests that it may have once been used for warding off insects, or for cleaning the hands and face; or it may possibly have once had magical associations.

On the same projecting shelf are also placed a fan made of white wood and an unornamented comb also made of plain white wood. Each is folded in a white paper covering. The teeth of the comb face the couch. At the foot of the bed, on the projecting end of the lowest tier of *tatami* rests an uncovered willow box containing a pair of slippers. The ground color of the slippers is purple, ornamented with a flower design in white.

None of the articles described above is utilized directly in the food ritual itself. The God-seat and its strange furnishings stand there throughout the night as silent witnesses of a half-forgotten past. The couch can represent only one thing; it is the throne of the Sumeragi of the legendary and early post-legendary periods of Japanese history. Royal couch-thrones of similar construction have been reported from Indonesia.[4] But for whom is the throne prepared? The living Emperor does not mount it, no historical documents explain just why it is there. The presence of the comb has suggested to some interpreters the thought that a female personage is expected—perhaps the

[4] See Horioka, *Daijōé Shiki to Nampō Dozoku Shiken* (大嘗會式と南方土俗私見 "A Private View of the Daijōé Ceremonies and the Customs of the South Pacific"), p. 2.



Sacred Objects placed on the Shinza. Above—the Eight-fold Tatami and the "Hill-pillow."
Below—Comb with wrapper, Slippers, and Fan with wrapper.

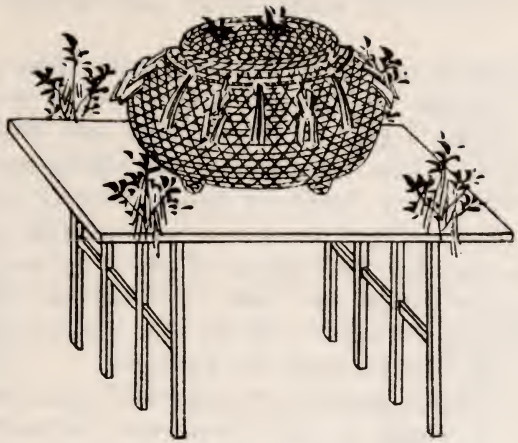
From the *Kojiruien.*

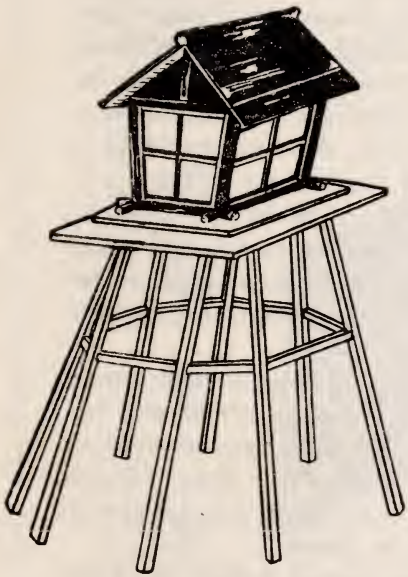
great Amaterasu-Ōmikami herself. But other provision is made for the worship of Amaterasu-Ōmikami in the ritual; no historical records say explicitly that the throne is hers, and, finally, combs were worn in early Japan by men and women alike. Perhaps the throne of the Yuki Den is for one who has just gone on that last long journey from which there is no return,—except in spirit. It is possible that all the objects under consideration here, couch-throne included, are primitive regalia emblems. The five emblems of royalty of the early rulers of Benares are said to have been a fan, a slipper, a parasol, a diadem and a sword.[5]

To the east of the Shinza is placed at the time of the food ritual, a rush mat bordered with white cloth. This mat is called the *Kami no Sugomo* or the *Kami no Kegomo*, the "Food-mat of the Kami," and as the name indicates, is place where the food offerings of the great ritual are arranged by the hand of the Emperor. Just to the north of this is spread a second mat called the *On Sugomo* or the *Mi Sugomo*—the "Emperor's Food-mat." The size of these mats has varied with different historical period. Present sources describe them as of the same size, namely, three *shaku* square. Both mats are placed at an angle toward the south-east, which brings them into a direct line with the Grand Imperial Shrine of Ise. In carrying out the food ritual the Emperor faces toward the Dwelling of Amaterasu-Ōmikami.

On either side of the foot of the *Shinza* is placed a four-legged table, and on each table a basket tied with Sakaki branches. These baskets are for the garments of the Kami. In the basket to the west is placed a cloth designated by the ancient name of *Nigitahe* ("Soft-offering"), and in that to the east, a cloth called *Aratahe* ("Coarse-Offering"). The exact nature of the cloth used in the modern ceremony is not made known. Anciently, the *Nigitahe* was probably a piece of white raw silk, or, earlier still, a piece of bark-cloth; the *Aratahe* was probably a coarse cloth of

[5] See H.E.R.E., Vol. 10, p. 634.





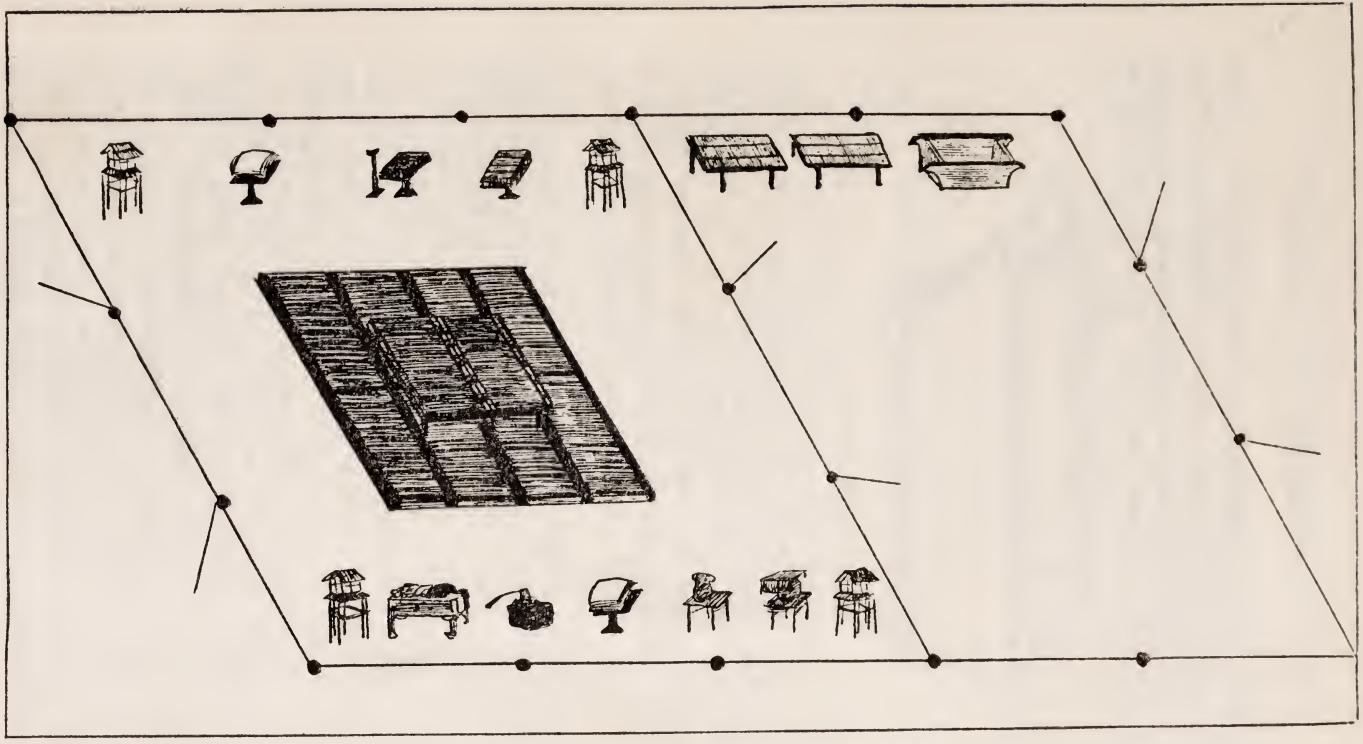
Furnishings of Yuki (and Suki) Den. Above—Basket for Nigitae, on table with eight legs. Below—White and Black Lights

bleached hemp or cotton. Elsewhere in the Inner Chamber are placed stands for lamps. These are of two kinds, known as White Light (*Shiroki Tōrō*) and Black Light (*Kuroki Tōrō*). The explanation is that the former is made of white wood, the latter of black. These lamps are lighted on the evening of the Daijō Sai from a flame kindled by rubbing together two pieces of wood (*hinoki*). The Outer Chamber is used as a place of attendance for Princes, High Officiating Ritualists and the two Uneme, or Female Ritualists, who directly assist the Emperor.

The Emperor leaves the Imperial Palace late in the afternoon and passes in state procession between lines of troops to a temporary palace called the Tongū, where he is joined by the Empress and members of the Imperial Family. At about six o'clock in the evening Guards of Honor take their places at the gates of the Daijō Gū. Just without the Northern and the Southern God-gates are set up on either side of the entrance, one "God-shield" (*Kami-tate*) and two "God-spears" (*Kami-boko*), thereby providing a symbolic guard of two shields and four spears on the north and the same number on the south. At about six o'clock in the evening Guards of Honor, dressed in ceremonial robes that reproduce in elaborate detail of form and color the costumes of old Japan, take their places at the four gateways of the inner enclosure.

Following this, invited guests consisting of high naval, military and civil officials with their ladies, arrive and are conducted to the two outer places of attendance situated to the east and the west of the outer gate of the Daijō Gū, on the south. From these buildings nothing of the ceremonies conducted within the ritual halls is visible.

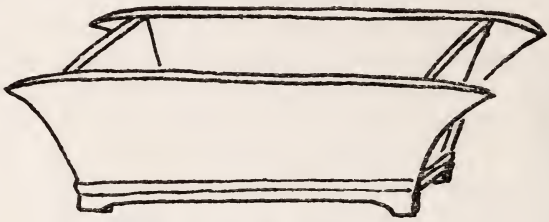
Thereupon the God-seats are placed within the Yuki and the Suki Halls by the Chief Ritualist and the Assistant Chief Ritualist. The lights are then lighted within both the Yuki Den and the Suki Den, and the watch fires at the four gates are kindled. Following this the Emperor arrives at the Kairyū Den and there carries out the ceremony of ablution. Anciently the Emperor purified himself by a prior bath in hot water at the Palace and then on arrival



An old diagram of the interior of the Kairyū Den. The central *tatami*, lights, seats, the *Ònyu no Fune* and stands for clothing and various other articles used in the rites are shown.

From an old print in library of Kyōto Fu.

at the Kairyū Den conducted a second purification. The former was called the Greater Purification Hot-bath (*Ōmi no Oyu*), the latter, the Lesser Purification Hot-bath (*Omi no Oyu*). In the present, only the latter purification is



Onyu no Fune.

observed. The receptacle for the bath is a square shape tub of primitive construction called the *Onyu no Fune*, or the Hot-bath Boat. Ōther objects used in the ceremony are a re-creation of the utensils of early Japanese history. When he enters the bath the Emperor wears a simple garment of hemp called the *Ama no Hagoromo* (Heavenly Feather Robe).

After the purification bath the Emperor dons ceremonial robes of pure white silk, and final hand-cleansing rites are administered. His Majesty then receives his royal baton. He has now been prepared by all the high and ancient rites of Shintō to enter as High Priest of the Nation into communion with the great Kami of the Food Ritual. The Empress then arrives at the Kairyū Den, dons ceremonial robes, purifies her hands by having consecrated water poured over them and is handed her ceremonial fan (*hisen*).

Then court musicians stationed at the Cook House near the Eastern God-gate strike up the Song of the Pounding of the Rice (*Inatsuki Uta*). Hearing this, ritualists awaiting within the Cook House begin the cooking of the offerings to be presented by the Emperor upon the Food-mat of the Kami within the Yuki Den. Prior to modern times the unhulled first-fruits from the Sacred Rice-fields were brought directly to the cook house, placed in mortars and pounded with pestles by maidens. Then fire was made

by the rubbing together sticks of *hinoki* and with the "pure fire" thus produced the rice was cooked. This was then offered as a divine oblation in the food ritual, and partaken of by the Emperor. While the rice was being pounded the "Song of the Pounding of the Rice" was sung. In modern times, the rice is hulled and polished at the places of gathering, and acordingly there is no *inatsuki* or rice pounding at the Daijō Gū. Yet the old observance is re-enacted in pantomime. "Rice-pounding Shelters" are built, mortars are placed and maidens imitate the motions of the old ceremony. Meanwhile musicians sing the song of the rice-pounding.

During this movement of the ceremony ritualists place tables holding national food offerings within small shelters provided for the purpose in the area to the south of the Yuki Den, between this building and the eastern Cook House. This particular procedure was first adopted in the Daijō Sai of Meiji Tennō in order to provide for the presentation of produce, including manufactured articles, poultry, fish, fruit, vegetables, etc., from all parts of the land. In the Daijō Sai of Taishō Tennō these tables were used for the presentation of one *shō* of polished rice and five *gō*[6] of millet from each prefecture and outlying possession, including Korea, Formosa and Saghalien.

The Chief Ritualist then enters the Outer Chamber of the Yuki Den and reads a *norito*. He then proceeds to the southern approach of the Yuki Den and awaits the arrival of the Emperor. Accompanying the Chief Ritualist are two torch-bearers.

Then ensues the procession of the Emperor from the Kairyū Den to the Yuki Den. The royal progress is in the manner of the going-forth of the Divine Ruler of old Japan. First in line come the Minister of the Imperial Household Department and the Grand Master of Ceremonies, walking one on either side of the corridor. They are followed by ritualists bearing torches, one an either side. Just before the Emperor come two other ritualists, one bearing the Sacred Sword, the other the Sacred Jewels.

[6] A *gō* is one tenth of a *shō*.

The central path of the corridor is reserved for the progress of the Emperor alone. All others of whatever rank, must traverse narrow lanes of matting laid on either side. The Emperor walks "between Heaven and Earth." The ground below must not be exposed to his sacred feet lest it become taboo, and lest his sacred virtue be drained off there; the air above must not be exposed to his head. In front of the Emperor is unrolled a mat of rushes; after he has passed the mat is rolled up behind him. On this mat the Emperor alone walks. At times in the past the *Kwampaku*, who was the highest official in the land, was permited to follow on the sacred mat, holding the Emperor's train. At the times the high dignitaries who precede the Emperor have been permitted to traverse the central aisle.

The Emperor walks bare-footed. Over his head is held a great umbrella called the *Kwangai*, or, in original Japanese, the *On Suge Kasa* ("Sedge Umbrella"). The name is derived from the fact that the sun-shade proper is made of sedge grass. The umbrella is carried on a pole of white wood, on the upper part of which is perched a phoenix with wings outspread as if in flight. The bird is brilliantly colored in the green, yellow, red, white and purple of the clouds of good omen. The phœnix hardly belongs in the setting. It is a Chinese importation. If the original *On Suge Kasa* ever had a bird at the top, it must have been the old Yamato sun-crow. Hanging from the mouth of the phonix is a white cord, and suspended from this is the great sedge sun-shade. Passing downward from within the upper part of the umbrella are two cords of white silk, which are held by two ritualists who walk one on either side of the Emperor.

One cannot forego recalling at this point that the umbrella is, throughout Africa and Asia, and particularly in southeast Asia, one of the most important of the insignia of royalty, and one is even tempted to wonder if it came into Japan with ancient Yamato invaders from Indonesia. One is tempted further to recall the manifold instances in cultural areas other than Japan of ceremonial precautions either very similar to, or identical with, that outlined above

The Sedge Umbrella. Held over the Emperor in his passage to and from the Ablution Hall at the time of the Daijō Sai. The Umbrella is frequently met with elsewhere, especially in southeast Asia, as the insignia of royalty.

From *Tairei Shashinchō, Taishō Yonen.*

wherein divine persons are restrained from setting their feet to the ground lest the soil on which thy step become sacred and thus tabooed to ordinary use, or again, lest the sacred person become contaminated. It is from this same point of view that we must explain the origin of the Japanese Sedge Umbrella, since overhead protection is just as essential as that under foot, lest the divine energy be drained off above. But we must return to the procession, itself.

Behind the Emperor goes the Grand Chamberlain holding the long train of the Royal robes. Following him come Princes, the Prime Minister and other dignitaries. The procession moves slowly southward from the Kairyū Den, then turns to the east, and then again to the north and comes to a stop at the southern stairs of the Yuki Den where the Chief Ritualist and attendants are waiting with torches. The bearers of the Regalia Sword and the Jewels then carry their treasures into the Outer Chamber and deposit them on tables made ready for the purpose. The Emperor then enters the Outer Chamber of the Yuki Den. The members of the retinue pass on to their places of attendance in the Omi no Aku Sha at the southeast corner of the inner enclosure.

After the Emperor has entered the Outer Chamber the Empress, accompanied by Princesses and Court Ladies, passes from the Kairyū Den along the same way as that taken by the former procession, to the Chō Den adjacent to the corridor in front of the Yuki Den. The members of the retinue of the Empress pass to their place of attendance in the waiting hall just to the west of the Chō Den.

After the Emperor has entered the Yuki Den and the Empress has taken her place within the Chō Den, an official of the Enthronement Commision of higher rank (*Taireishi Kōtōkan*) conducts the musicians to a fixed placed in the Southern Court before the Yuki Den, while the Governor of the Yuki District similarly leads another group to a position slightly to the east of the former. The first group then renders the Kuzu Song—ancient music which has its traditional origin in the age of Jimmu Tennō. The

second group of musicians then sing the folk-songs of the Yuki District. Prior to the modern period people from the Suki and the Yuki Districts came up to Kyōto and rendered their own folk-songs at the Daijō Sai. Now the service is performed by Court musicians.

The music ended and the musicians withdrawn, the Empress and the members of her retinue worship toward the Yuki Den and then retire to the Kairyū Den. Prior to the Enthronement Ceremonies of Taishō Tennō provision was not made for attendance by the Empress. After the withdrawal of the Empress, the Princes of the Blood pass from their place of waiting in the Omi no Aku Sha to the veranda of the Yuki Den.

Then follows the most picturesque movement of the entire Daijō Sai, namely the Procession of Sacred Food Offerings (*Shinsen Gyōretsu*). From the Cook House on the east there passes to the southern stairs of the Yuki Den a colorful line of ritualists and Uneme[6] bearing the utensils and the offerings to be used in the food ritual. The order of the procession is as follows:

(1).—A ritualist (*Shōtenho*) accompanied by two torch bearers.

(2).—A ritualist bearing a ceremonial wand called *Kezuriki* ("Shaved Wood"). This is a stick of *hinoki* about three feet long, used in ancient times to cast out impurity and evil.

(3).—A ritualist bearing an elongated basin (called *Ebi no Hatabune*) used in cleansing the hands of the Emperor. Formerly this basin was of earthenware, now it is of wood.

(4).—A ritualist bearing the *Tashiraka*—an earthenware pitcher of primitive design containing water for cleansing the hands of the Emperor.

(5).—The chief female attendant of the Emperor in the ritual, bearing a wooden box containing an ancient form of tooth brush. This maiden is called the Haizen, a name formerly given to one who waited on the Emperor at table.

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[6] The name given in ancient times to female attendants of the Emperor.

The Procession of Sacred Food Offerings.

From an old print.

(6).—The assistant female attendant (called the Shindori), bearing a box containing towels for cleansing the Emperor's hands.

(7).—An Uneme bearing the Food-mat of the Kami (*Kami no Sugomo*).

(8).—An Uneme bearing the Food-mat of the Emperor (*On Sugomo*).

(9).—An Uneme bearing a box containing chopsticks (*On Hashibako*). The chopsticks are of a form no longer seen in ordinary use in Japan. They are attached together at one end in the manner of ancient Japanese scissors.

(10).—An Uneme bearing a box containing primitive dishes (called *hirate*) made of the leaves of the Kashiwa tree. The Kashiwa (*Quercus dentata*) is a species of the oak, and has tough broad leaves suitable for dishes. The appearance in the Daijō Sai of these archaic utensils of leaves undoubtedly reflects the common usage of primitive Japan.

(11).—An Uneme bearing a box (*Gohan Bako*) containing steamed rice and millet.

(12).—An Uneme bearing a box (*Nama Mono Bako*) containing fresh fish.

(13).—An Uneme bearing a box (*Kara Mono Bako*) containing dried fish.

(14).—An Uneme bearing a box (*On Ko no Mi Bako*) containing fruit.

(15).—A ritualist bearing Awabi broth (*Awabi no Shiru*).

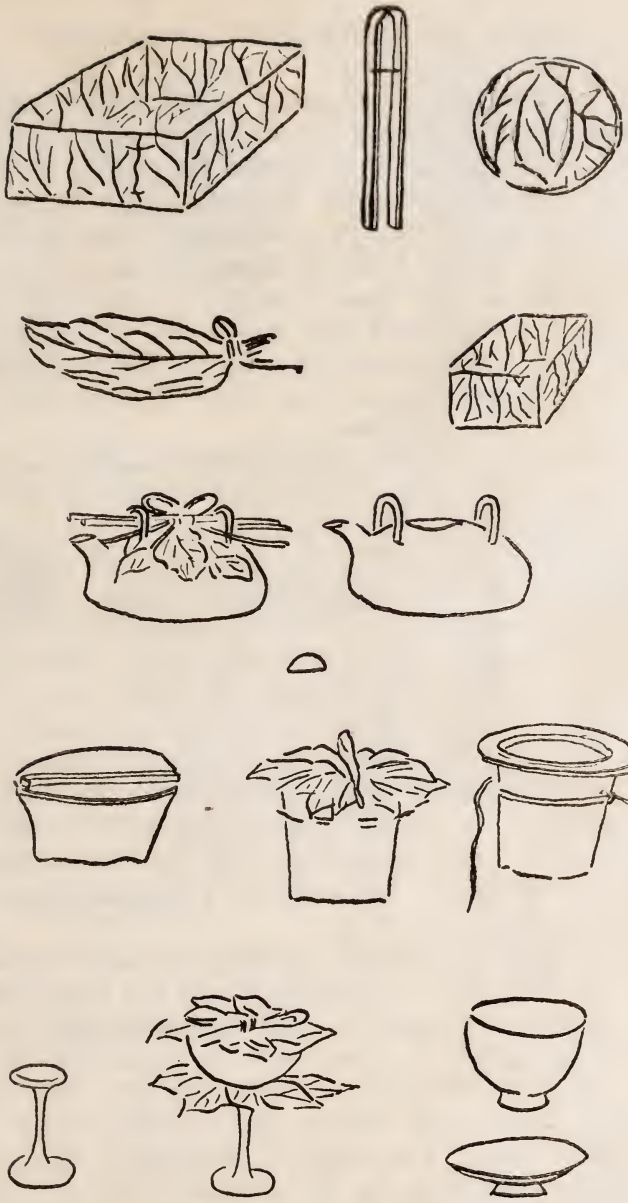
(16).—A ritualist bearing sea-weed broth (*Me no Shiru*).

(17).—Two ritualists bearing earthenware bowls (*kū-san*).

(18).—Two ritualists bearing a table with eight legs, holding broths (*atsu mono*).

(19).—Two ritualists bearing a table with eight legs, holding the sacred *sake*.

(20).—Two ritualists bearing a table with eight legs, holding boiled rice and millet. In the ritual this food is called *Okayu*.



Utensils used in the Emperor's Food Ritual of the Daijō Sai. Above—Chop-sticks with Boxes and Dishes of Kashiwa Leaves. Below —Utensils for Liquid Offerings of various kinds.

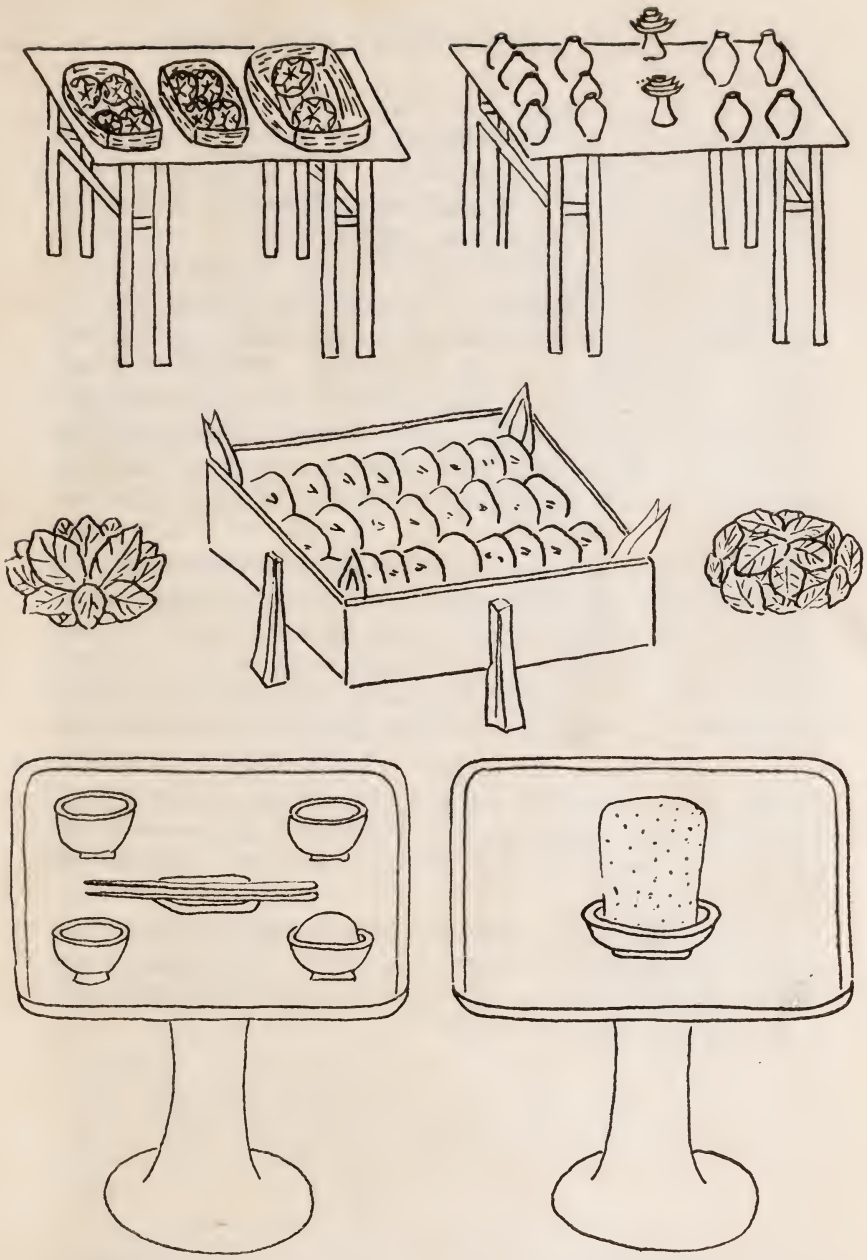
From *Chūō Shidan*, June, 1928.

(21).—Two ritualists bearing a table with eight legs, holding the Emperor's food (*O Naorai*).

When the head of the procession has reached the Yuki Den the ritualist bearing the Kezuriki stands below the southern steps and gives a cry of warning. Then while the musicians play Kagura Uta, the Emperor passes from the Outer Chamber to the Inner Chamber of the Yuki Den. The Princes of the Blood then pass from the veranda of the Yuki Den to appointed places in the Outer Chamber. The Grand Chamberlain and the Chief Ritualist also take places in the Outer Chamber.

The Emperor's ritual of food oblation and sacramental communion with the Kami is then performed. On entering the Inner Chamber the Emperor passes to the west and then to the north of the Shinza, and seats himself on a mat to the east of the Couch-throne, facing southeast. The Haizen, assisted by the Shindori, then brings in from the Outer Chamber the utensils used in the preliminary hand-cleansing rite. The Haizen pours three times from the Tashiraka onto the Emperor's hands and catches the water in the Ebi no Hatabune. The Emperor then dries his hands on a towel presented by the Haizen. He does not rinse his mouth and makes no use of the tooth brush that appears in the food processional. All the hand-cleansing utensils are withdrawn to the Outer Chamber before the food offerings are brought in.

After cleansing his hands the Emperor offers a prayer, and then the Food-mat of the Kami and the Food-mat of the Emperor are brought in and spread in place. Immediately thereafter the food offerings are carried in one box at a time by the Shindori and the Haizen. The Shindori hands them to the Haizen and the latter opens and arranges the boxes. The order of presentation is: the box containing the chopsticks, the box of steamed rice and millet, the box of fresh fish, the box of dried fish, the box of fruit, the sea weed broth and finally the Awabi broth. It is worthy of note that no offering of vegetables is presented. All the boxes are closed with covers (*kubote*) made of Kashiwa leaves. The Haizen removes the covers and arranges the



Offerings and Utensils of Daijō Sai. Above—Table bearing Baskets filled with Leaf Dishes; Sacred *Sake*. Middle—Leaf Dishes and Fish Offerings. Below—Vessels for Liquid Offerings; Stand containing Sacred Rice.

From *Kojiruien*.

boxes near the Emperor's mat. The food offerings are then placed on the Kashiwa leaf dishes (*hirade*) and laid on the Food-mat of the Kami. The broths are offered in simple vessels of unglazed red earthware. Following this the *Miki,* or sacred white and black *sake,* is brought in by the Shindori, handed to the Haizen, and by the latter presented to the Emperor. Two portions of white *sake* are then offered up on the Kami-mat, and following this two portions of black *sake* are presented. Boiled rice and boiled millet (the so-called *Okayu*) are then brought in and presented before the Kami. After all these offerings of food and drink have been made the Emperor claps his hands three times and presents a prayer (*Gokoku Bun*) to the Kami.

The Emperor's communion meal is then brought in. In this the Emperor, holding the chopsticks in his right hand, partakes three times of the steamed rice and then three times of the steamed millet. The sacred *sake* is then brought in. The Emperor receives this from the hand of the Haizen and drinks four times of the white *sake* and then four times of the black *sake.* All utensils and offerings are then removed in the same order as when presented. After a final hand-cleansing ceremony, the Emperor withdraws to the Kairyū Den. The Recessional is in the same order as the Processional.

The Yuki ritual is ended sometime shortly before midnight. Commencing at two o'clock in the morning on November fifteenth, the same ritual from beginning to end is carried out in the Suki Den.

Chapter IX

EPILOGUE: THE MEANING OF THE CEREMONIES

We have just studied the main outlines of the two most important observances of the Japanese Enthronement Ceremonies, the Sokui Rei and the Daijō Sai. They are the two major movements of a great Imperial symphony. In multiplicity of detail and in elaborateness of preparation and consummation the Japanese Enthronement Rites are perhaps the most complicated in history. An account of the details of robes, dances, songs, banquets, processions, etc., —fascinating events of brilliant color and action that invite investigation —is beyond the purpose of the present discusion, which is to present an outline of the great ceremonies and an interpretation thereof. How then shall we understand these involved and manifold rites? Is there any point of view from which we can find a unified perspective in the midst of all this detail?

In attempting to answer these questions we should bear in mind the fact that we are dealing with rites and forms that have come down, many of them, out of an ancient past, and which have been modified, in exterior at least, and added to on the way by various historical contributions. An interpretation of the Japanese Enthronement that assumes any approximation to completeness must take the ceremonies as they stand in their complexity and find room for the interplay of a number of elements, all of which have important meanings in the rites. In attempting to make clear to ourselves the significance of the ceremonies we should note, then, the folowing interpretative points of view.

In the first place the ceremonies are an impressive announcement and recognition of the fact of a new accession to the Throne. The announcement is made in two directions, first toward the great spirit world of ancestral and national Kami, and second toward the human world of Japanese sub-

jects and other peoples of the earth. Announcements to the Kami appear repeatedly in the course of the different ceremonies, but in particular the rites before the altars of the Shunkyō Den, attended by high representatives of the Japanese people and of the nations of the world, have inner meaning as a great ritual of announcement to the spirit world. The ceremonies of the Shinshin Den, as has been already pointed out, are essentially an announcement to the nation and the world of the fact of the new succession. Also, in the Shishin Den ceremony this royal announcement is recognized and replied to by the nation acting through its chief representative in the person of the Prime Minister, and all the people of the nation voice thereby their response of joy and congratulation, and their pledge of loyalty.

In the second place the Enthronement Ceremonies find meaning as a series of magnificant historical pagents wherein Japan relives her long and glorious past. Simple royal cottage, primitive couch-throne, archaic utensils of leaves, of wood, or of unglazed clay, ancient rites of magic, garments, dances and music of the early ages, mediaeval vestments, banners and buildings—all belong in the vivid historical pictures that are unfolded. This historical aspect of the Enthronement Ceremonies is one of its most important phases, one that both challenges and merits careful investigation by students of history and anthropology. Herein the Japanese people manifest a tenacity of historical continuity coupled with an assimilative power that constitutes one of their greatest sources of strength.

In the next place the ceremonies are a dramatic expression of the union of the nation—Emperor and people—in all the affairs of the governmental and social life. The Emperor and the people meet in the fellowship of rites and banquets, and herein is expressed the mutuality of their interests and their interdependence in one great social and political body.

In the fourth place the ceremonies find meaning as a great expression of thanksgiving to the ancestral spirits and the other great Kami of the nation for the preservation of the state, the granting of a beneficent ruler, and for food.

This element is especially prominent in the Daijō Sai. It is from this point of view that Japanese writers are prone to interpret the September harvest rites at the Yuki and the Suki fields and the food ritual of the Daijō Sai. Especially in the latter rites the Emperor as the great representative of the people before the Kami, by the act of presenting food and by partaking thereof himself, enters into an intimacy of communion with spiritual powers that makes possible an unusual expression of this nation-wide sentiment of thanksgiving. The fact that the food offering is placed on a mat that is turned in the direction of Ise may be legitimately interpreted as a special expression of thanksgiving to Amaterasu-Ōmikami. From this standpoint the Enthronement Ceremonies are an emphatic declaration of the nation's feeling of dependence on the Kami.

A related element of importance in this which we may call the religious aspect of the Daijō Sai, is to be found in the manner in which this festival has preserved from most ancient times right up to the present a primitive technique for the production and the preservation of food. The Daijō Sai and its preparatory rites are deeply stamped with an interest in safeguarding the growth and fertility of crops. The explanation of the elaborate precautions taken in connection with planting, cultivating and harvesting is in the desire to produce a crop that is absolutely free from all ceremonial defilement. This is not to protect the eaters of the food against contamination, but rather to protect the food itself. The original means used to accomplish this end were largely magical. Magical elements still exist, although the primitive technique has been displaced to a considerable extent by modern scientific procedure. The ancient and the modern worlds are one in this, however, that the main interest was, and still is, in food and not in gods. An important difference between the modern and the ancient situations lies in ideas regarding just what it is that preserves the good qualities of the food and carries those qualities over from harvest time to the new plants of the next spring. Modern science by its study of the foundations of life is giving its answer to this great problem. Primitive man found

his answer in the existence of a great Spirit of the Grain. If this great Spirit could be handed on pure and undefiled from autumn to spring, from harvest to planting, from mother plant to seedling then the continuity of good food would be ensured. This accounts for the elaborate purification ceremonies and the detailed precautions taken to keep out defilement, met with in connection with primitive planting and harvest rites. It accounts for the care given first fruits, for these are regarded as pre-eminently the dwelling place of the Food Spirit in its purity. Hence first fruits are usually either offered to the gods or they are employed as seeds for the new planting. In the Japanese food ritual of the Daijō Sai the first fruits are both presented before the gods and eaten by the Emperor. This latter fact is of the utmost significance. The first fruits containing the divine Rice Spirit are eaten by the Emperor. The Emperor has been carefully cleansed for the eating by elaborated rites. A purified food is created, and this goes as directly as the precautionary rites will permit to the purified Emperor. The two are brought together in carefully prepared rites, and the Emperor becomes the repository of the sacred Rice Spirit. We should remember that the Emperor of the Daijō Sai is not an ordinary Emperor. He has stepped back two thousand years into the past and has become once more the sacred living Kami in whose magical person is enfolded the entire welfare of his people, their protection from evil, both human and superhuman, their representation before the Kami of Heaven and Earth, and above all their food. The transfer of the Sacred Rice Spirit to the person of the Sacred Emperor is the climax of a series of elaborate rites intended to protect and promote fertility. The creative primitive interest operative here was food. If the Sacred Emperor carried within himself the Food Spirit all was well. We have been speaking in terms of the thought and practice of primitive Japan. In the modern ceremonial survivals of the old rites, the earlier forms tend increasingly to take on symbolic and higher religious meanings. Yet if we wish to understand the Daijō Sai we must approach it from the

standpoint of the primitive philosophy of food outlined above.

But after all, this does not fully explain the Daijō Sai. Why the two simple dwellings of Old Japan built side by side, why the two ancient thrones, arranged as though some one had just gone away, or, perhaps, as though some one were expected, why the black and the white *sake*, why the black and the white lights? The food interest will not explain these. At several points in the earlier stages of the discusion the statement has been made that concealed in the Daijō Sai is the original Japanese enthronement ceremony. A recent study of some of the problems of the Daijō Sai by Mr. Bunkichi Horioka has produced an important interpretation of these primitive enthronement elements.[1] The main points can be quickly summarized.

We should remember in the first place the primitive Japanese fear of the contamination of death. This old attitude of fear, not of death itself, for in meeting death the Japanese have always shown a superior indifference, but a fear of the ceremonial impurity of death, has survived in strength even into the present. So strong was this aversion in old Japanese life, that when a death occurred the entire house was vacated and a new dwelling for the living built elsewhere. In the case of the Ruler this meant the abandonment of the old palace and the erection of a new one on a more or less distant spot. This necessitated the removal of the capital, and explains the practice of the founding of a new capital with each new ruler that we meet with in old Japan. In the days when the dwellings of the people were simple huts of bamboo such removal was a matter of only two or three days' time.

We should remember too, that the essence of the old succession rites was the transfer of the regalia emblems. With this data before us we are prepared to understand certain previously unintelligible elements of the Daijō Sai. In the primitive situation, at the death of a ruler the successor purified himself, went to the dwelling of the dead Em-

[1] Horioka, *Daijōé Shiki to Nampō Dozoku Shiken* (大嘗會式と南方土俗私見—"A Private View of the Daijōé Ceremonies and the Customs of the South Pacific").

peror, secured from the couch-throne the three sacred regalia, and carried them, after a second purification to a new dwelling which he had built for himself. The Daijō Sai dramatically re-enacts this primitive procedure. The Yuki Den stands for the dwelling of the dead Emperor, the Suki Den is the dwelling of the new Emperor. The couch in the former is the throne of the previous ruler, the couch in the latter is the throne of the successor. We can understand from this the presence of the black and the white lights, and the black and the white *sake*. There is an element of mourning on the one hand and rejoicing on the other. Thus we discover in the Daijō Sai the original Japanese Enthronement Ceremonies. Just how the enthronement element came to be merged with the food ritual element constitutes as yet an unsolved problem.

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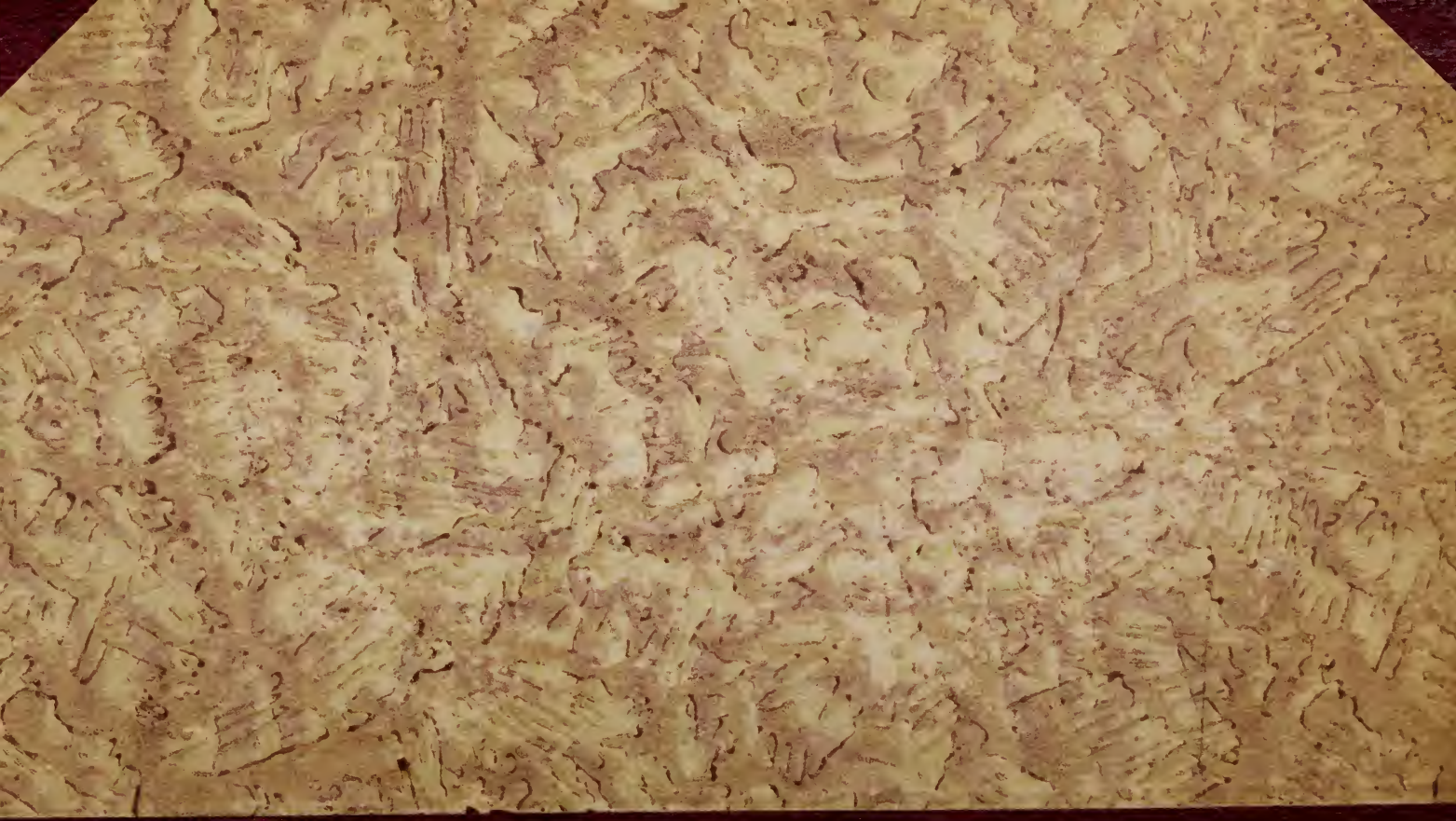
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